

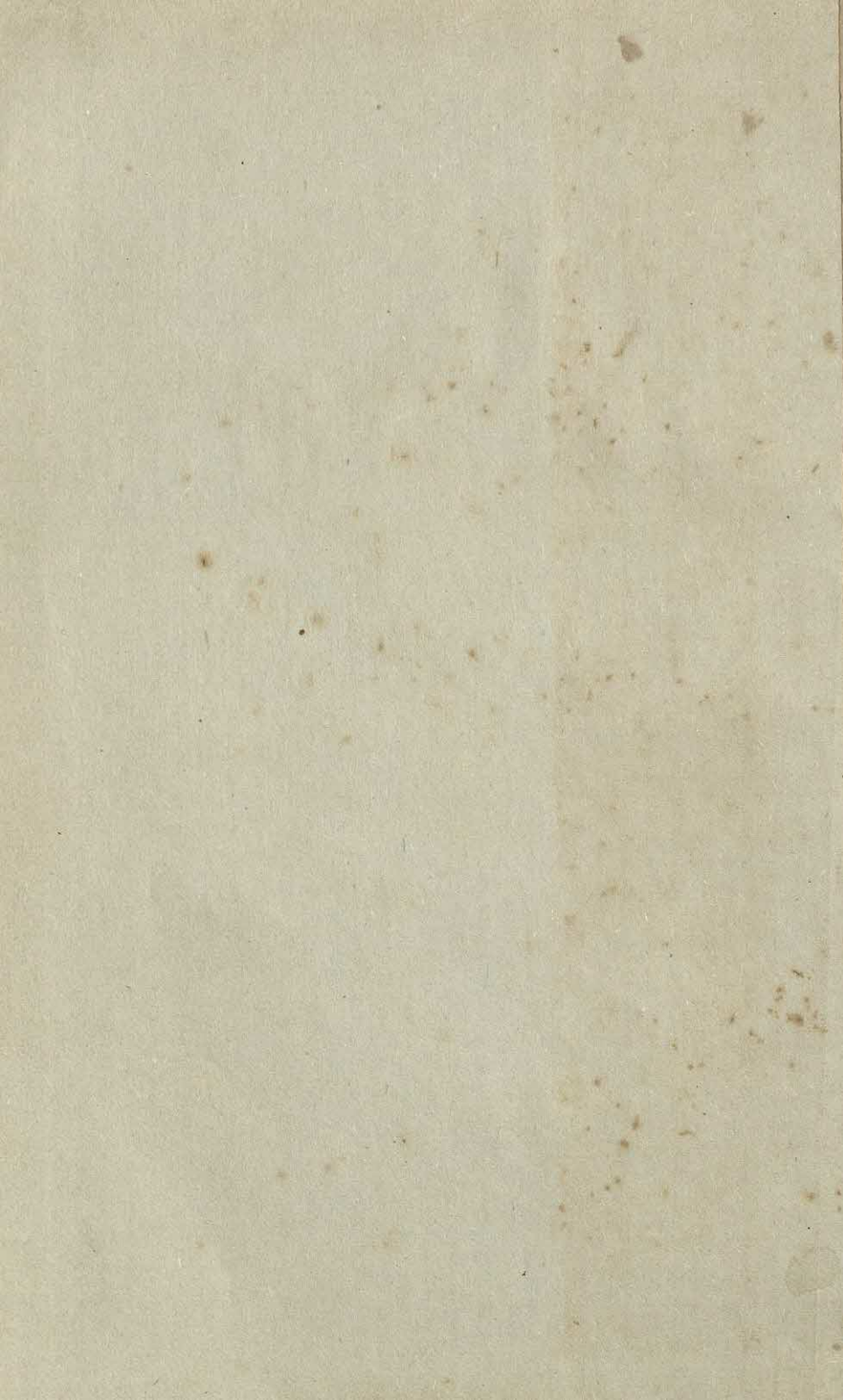
CALCUTTA IN THE 18TH CENTURY

P. THANKAPPAN NAIR

CALCUTTA
CALCUTTA





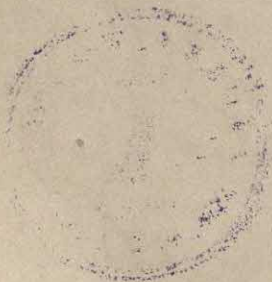


CALCUTTA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY :

Impressions of Travellers

By the same author

THE PEACOCK, THE NATIONAL BIRD OF INDIA
MARRIAGE AND DOWRY IN INDIA
JOB CHARNOCK, THE FOUNDER OF CALCUTTA
BRITISH SOCIAL LIFE IN ANCIENT CALCUTTA
THE ANGRE ADVENTURE (With L.K. Padmanabhan)



CALCUTTA IN THE 18TH CENTURY

IMPRESSIONS OF TRAVELLERS

Compiled by

P. THANKAPPAN NAIR



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PREFACE

CALCUTTA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: *Impressions of Travellers*, contains excerpts from 15 visitors' accounts to this metropolis in its infancy. Calcutta, before becoming the 'City of Palaces' in the 18th century, was dubbed a 'Ditch' and its denizens 'Ditchers', as the English settlement was bounded and butted by the Mahratta Ditch.

Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta, had lived for about 35 years in different parts of Bengal. On his return from Madras, after the rupture with the Mogul *Faujdar* at Hooghly in 1686, he selected the marshy swamp, Sutanati, for the future seat of the East India Company's trading operations in Eastern India, as he was far away from the prying eyes of the Dutch and French, who were all upstream at Hooghly. They were at his mercy as he was in a position to cut off their shipping.

The history of Colonial Calcutta dates from August 24, 1690. The *zamindari* rights of Sutanati, together with that of Kalkatah and Govindpur which adjoined it, were acquired from the Savarna Raychaudhuries of Barisha in 1698 for Rs. 1300. Sutanati, Kalkatah and Govindpur together grew into Calcutta in course of time. The Company's officials lived in thatched houses in Calcutta till Fort William was constructed. The Fort was begun in 1697 and was almost finished in 1708. The security afforded by the Fort to the life and property attracted natives and other European nationals from the nearby foreign settlements to Calcutta.

St. Anne's Church was consecrated on 5th June 1708. Fort William and the English Church were the landmarks of Calcutta during the first decade of the 18th century. We have accounts of the infant British settlement during this period from three visitors, namely, (1) Capt. Alexander Hamilton, (2) Father Matteo Ripa and (3) John Burnell. Capt. Hamilton's account was the staple of early historians and chroniclers of Calcutta. Father Ripa's account was inaccessible till it was translated by Fr. Hosten and published in 1914. John Burnell had little to say on Calcutta and his identity was not

established till 1927. The accounts of Fr. Ripa and Burnell supplement Capt. Hamilton's unaffected anecdotes.

The East India Company's trade in Bengal went on smoothly from 1700 to 1756 with little interruption. The Cyclone of 1737 cleared Calcutta some of its wretched thatched hovels. The Mahratta scare in 1742 compelled the people of Calcutta to dig a ditch for their protection. The English quarter of the town was provided with palisades. The Ditch was never completed as the Mahrattas dared not to cross the Hooghly. James Mitchell, purser of the H.M.S. *Harwich*, visited Calcutta in 1747 and 1748, but his account was scrappy to give us the condition of the settlement during those days. Mitchell's narrative was not noticed till 1933.

There were no visitors to Calcutta during its siege by Nawab Siraj-ud-Dowlah, in consequence of which all accounts of the years of 1756 and 1757 are official. Surgeon Ives accompanied Admiral Watson for the recapture of Calcutta and he was primarily concerned with its health. Ives's observations on the mortality of Calcutta are dependable. The revolution that shook the political fabric of Bengal, following the battle of Plassey, is described by John Henry Grose, though he was not an eye-witness to it. His account is included in this compilation for the sake of recapitulating the political history.

An unidentified Scotsman visited Calcutta in 1761 and his journal was published in 1933. One cannot fail to notice the prosperity of Calcutta from his narrative.

The grant of *Diwani* in 1765 made the East India Company the arbiter of the destiny of India and since then local kings and rulers were but the toys in the hands of the Company's Governors and Governor-Generals. The appointment of Warren Hastings as, Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal in 1774 and the establishment of the Supreme Court of Judicature at the Presidency raised Calcutta to the status of the capital of British Empire in India. Commercial prosperity as well as political power brought Calcutta into the limelight. Jemima Wicksted, wife of Lt.-Col. Nathaniel Kindersley, has described the life in Calcutta during the years of 1765-68 in her letters. She was the first English lady to visit Calcutta and her description of Calcutta's climate and social life is lively.

Rear Admiral Stavorinus was the first Dutch to give us his impressions of Calcutta. He came to Calcutta in 1768,

three months after the departure of Mrs. Kindersley. His narrative of Calcutta of the 1770's during the days of Governor John Cartier is very interesting. He was the first European who had an opportunity to view the present Fort William, then still under construction. His portrait of European life in Calcutta is a vivid documentary of the growing commercial prosperity of our metropolis.

Warren Hastings was the last of the Company's servants to be elevated to the office of the Governor-General. There are several books on the life and times of this great Proconsul. We have four visitors to Calcutta during his administration. Philip Dormer Stanhope ("Asiaticus") visited Calcutta from September to December 1774 and his description of the British social life in this city is a literary masterpiece. William Mackintosh who visited Calcutta next after "Asiaticus", advocated remodelling the government and town of Calcutta. Warren Hastings did nothing for the improvement of Calcutta and Mackintosh's castigation of Hastings' neglect in this respect is a sad reflection. The daily life of an Englishman portrayed by Mackintosh is typical of an 'Indian Nawab' or a senior civil servant of the Company who could afford to keep a *zenana*. Eliza Fay, a lady who stayed in Calcutta during four different periods and died in the city, was the wife of Anthony Fay, a barrister, who prepared the ground for the Impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey, the first Chief Justice of the old Supreme Court of Calcutta. The scandals attached to Philip Francis do not figure in the works of Mackintosh and Fay, as they were probably his proteges. William Hodges, the famous scenery painter, was the last visitor to Calcutta during the administration of Warren Hastings. His description of the city as a 'temple dedicated to hospitality' is a well-deserved compliment to Calcutta. Though his account of Calcutta is brief, it has all the qualities of his paintings.

L. De Grandpre, an officer of the French Army, visited Calcutta more than once. He has given us a graphic picture of the social and cultural life of the natives and Britons. As his account is the most succinct account for the governor-generalships of Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, we have not grudged in reproducing all that he has written about Calcutta and its suburbs.

Thomas Twining was in the service of the John Company, but we have only reproduced his account of Calcutta as a traveller. His anecdotes about Sir William Jones are of topical interest as the Asiatic Society which Sir William founded has just celebrated its bicentenary.

Of the fifteen visitors to Calcutta during the 18th century, whose accounts dealing with different facets of British social life and urban growth of our metropolis are reproduced in this volume, two come from ladies and three from non-Englishmen, i.e., a Dutch admiral, an Italian missionary, and a French fortune-hunter. Accounts of Calcutta which are not coming from travellers, do not find a place in this collection. Reminiscences and biographies of eminent people connected with Old Calcutta have also been left out by us from the scope of this volume.

While reproducing the accounts of the travellers in Calcutta from their original books, we have *seldom taken the liberty to edit them. The language, spellings, punctuation and even mistakes found in the originals are retained. In fact, we have reproduced verbatim their accounts.* Notes given by the editors and translators of the original works are reproduced with due acknowledgment. We have given short biographical sketches of the visitors together with particulars of their original works whenever available, in our introduction to each narrative.

* * *

Acknowledgments are due to the authorities of the National Library, Calcutta, for giving facilities to copy the accounts of (1) Hamilton, (2) Ives, (3) Grose, (4) Kindersley, (5) Stavorinus, (6) Mackintosh, (7) Hodges and (8) Twining, from their Rare and Asutosh Collections. The accounts of "Asiaticus" have been copied from the Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and that of Mrs. Fay from the Uttarpara Jāyakraishna Public Library. Grandpre's account has been copied from the Library of Bishop Goethal, housed at St. Xavier's College, Calcutta. The accounts of (1) Father Ripa, (2) John Burnell, (3) James Mitchell and (4) that of an unidentified visitor to Calcutta in 1761 are reproduced from the Calcutta Historical Society's journal, *Bengal Past & Present*, lent by Mr. Rathindranath Mukhopadhyaya.

Mr. Rathindranath Mukhopadyaya has put me under obligation, for not only lending some journals, but also for accepting my proposal for publication of these scattered accounts in a handy book for the benefit of the students of Calcutta's history. Mr. Rathindranath Mukhopadhyaya deserves a word of praise for his sustained interest in the history and problems of Calcutta, despite the gloomy picture of this metropolis painted by tourists. Like his father, the late Kanailal Mukhopadhyaya, who loved Calcutta and brought out a number of titles on this City, Mr. Rathindranath Mukhopadhyaya is optimistic of Calcutta's future.

The bulk of the copying work was done by my wife Seetha and the typing of the manuscript was undertaken by Messrs. P.K. Gopi and P.K. Vijayan.

Acknowledgments are also due to Mr. S.P. Ghosh of Firma KLM (P) Ltd. for seeing the manuscript through the press, besides preparing an exhaustive index for the volume. Mr. Ashok Kumar Dey of Seema Mudran deserves a word of thanks for printing this volume at a short notice.

82/C, Kansaripara Road,
Calcutta-25.

P.T. Nair

August 24, 1984.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS* (between pages 16-17, 285-287).

- I. Mrs. ELIZA FAY (see pages 187-205), donning Egyptian costume painted by A.W. Devis in 1784 and engraved by T. Alais.
- II. WILLIAM HODGES (see pages 206-209) from an engraving by William Daniell of a drawing by George Dance.
- III. OLD FORT WILLIAM in Calcutta (see page 5) about 1730, printed and delineated by George Lambert & Samuel Scott from an engraving by Gerard Vandergutt.
- IV. BLACK HOLE : (1) Nawab Siraj-ud-Dowlah (top *left*, see pages 121-124) who ordered imprisonment of some English men in the Black Hole prison at the Old Fort William ; (2) Col. Clive (top *right*, see pages 128-131), who retook Calcutta ; (3) John Zepanniah Holwell (bottom *left*, see pages 121-127) who survived the ordeal of Black Hole, and (4) Admiral Watson (bottom *right*, see page 106), who helped Col. Clive in retaking Calcutta (from a painting by T. Hudson).
- V. WARREN HASTINGS AND HIS FRIENDS : (1) Warren Hastings, First Governor-General of India (top *left*, see page 169) after Sir Joshua Reynolds's portrait ; (2) Philip Francis, who fought a duel with him (top *right* see page 196) after a portrait by J. Hoppner ; (3) Richard Barwell, Hastings's best friend (bottom *left*, see page 271) after Sir Joshua Reynolds's portrait, and (4) William Watts, Chief of Kasimbazar factory in 1756 (bottom *right*, see page 132).
- VI. CELEBRATED LADIES : (1) Second Mrs. Warren Hastings (top *left*, see pages 192-193) from a portrait by Schlotterbeck) ; (2) Madame Grand (top *right*, see page 180) from a portrait by Madame Vigee Le Brun ; (3) Mrs. Mary Carey (bottom *left*, see page 125) from a portrait on the lid of a snuff box once used by Warren Hastings, now in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta,

* Photographs are by Radhakanta Paul.

and (4) Mrs. Mills, one of the survivors of the Black Hole (from a mezzotint by I.R. Smith of a painting by Engleheart).

- VII. CELEBRATED JUDGES : (1) Sir Elijah Impey, first Chief Justice of Calcutta Supreme Court (top *left*, see pages 188-189) ; (2) Sir William Jones, a puisne Judge of the same Court and Founder of the Asiatic Society in 1784 (top *right*, see pages 282-283) ; (3) Mr. Justice John Hyde, one of the first puisne Judges along with Sir Impey (bottom *left*, see page 179) ; and (4) Sir Robert Chambers, another puisne Judge of the Old Supreme Court of Calcutta (bottom *right*, see pages 179-180, 189). The portrait of (1) Impey is by Tilly Kettle, (3) that of Hyde and (4) Chambers by R. Home.
- VIII. BEGUMS AND NAWABS : (1) On the *top* :—Emperor Farrukh Siyar (see page 69) and his consort ; (2) on the *bottom* :—"Begum" Johnson (Mrs. William Watts) and her fourth husband, Rev. William Johnson. Mrs. Johnson was the grand-mother of a Prime Minister of England (Earl of Liverpool). She lived in Calcutta from 1750 to 1812.
- IX. JOHN ZOFFANY, the most celebrated British Painter, who visited Calcutta. This portrait, painted by the artist himself, is now in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence.
- X. ZOFFANY'S LAST SUPPER presented to St. John's Church, Calcutta, on April 9, 1787. The figures were said to represent contemporary Calcuttans. Auctioneer Tulloh (see page 187) was the original of Judas and Father Parthenio, a Greek clergyman, that of the Saviour.
- XI. BUCKINGHAM HOUSE (the old Government House), from an unpublished drawing by William Hickey, traced from one of Daniell's Twelve Views (1787). Warren Hastings lived here from 1775 to 1785.
- XII. BLACK HOLE MONUMENT from Grandpre's *Voyages* (vol. II, p. 4), delineating (1) Holwell's monument, (2) a bastion of the Old Fort William, (3) Writers' Buildings in 1790, (4) 'Lal Dighi' (Dalhousie Square tank) and (5) a palankin (see pages 230, 279).

- XIII. EAST INDIA COMPANY'S *NISHANS* or marks in the 18th Century (on page 285). The top *left* mark (GCE) means "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading to the East Indies"; the *middle* one (EEIC) "The English East India Company and the *right* one (VEIC) "The United East India Company". The bale marks illustrated below are : (1) A circle (*left*) with a cross over it ; (2-3)—do—with letters G.C.E. standing for "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading to the East Indies" (*middle*) and (*right*). The cross in some cases was completed by the equilateral triangle, which was the symbol of the Trinity.
- XIV. BATTLE OF PLASSEY (on page 286) gives the details of the position of the armies of Col. Clive and Nawab Siraj-ud-Dowlah.
- XV. EPITAPH OF WM. HAMILTON (on page 287). Dr. Hamilton's tombstone can be seen inside the Charnock Mausoleum, St. John's Churchyard, Calcutta. The Persian text is seldom reproduced. For Emperor Farrukh Siyar, see picture VIII.

CORRIGENDA

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Corrections</i>
5	26-28	<i>Read the 28th line after the 26th and then the 27th.</i>
85	10	<i>Read -nothing for -notning.</i>
142	29	<i>Read rice for ric.</i>
188	1	<i>Read spending for spendig.</i>
198	22	<i>Read perhaps.</i>
220	19	<i>Read luxury for Iuxury</i>
242	30	<i>Read their for thier.</i>
246	14	<i>Read coast for coats.</i>
	22	<i>Read sovereignty for sovereignty.</i>
	27	<i>Add of before directors.</i>
	29	<i>Delete this line and substitute it with "is one of the king's minister's ; so that by means of this board,".</i>
253	11	<i>Read future for furture.</i>
257	25	<i>Read companion for compainon.</i>
263	11	<i>Read adorned for aborned.</i>

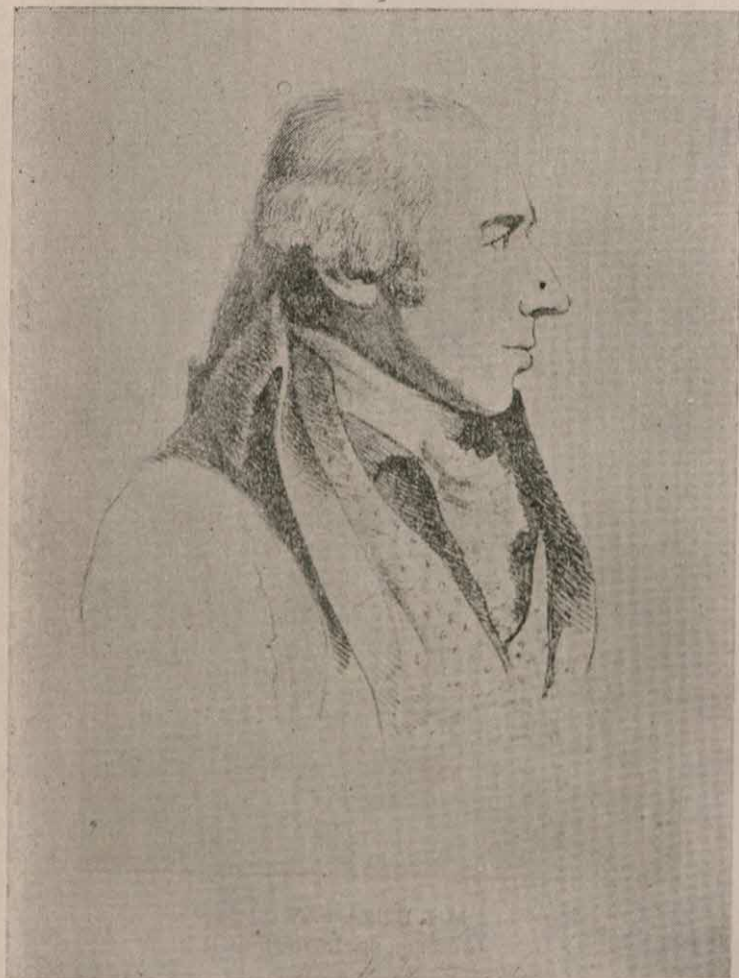
CALCUTTA IN THE 18th CENTURY



I.

Mrs. ELIZA FAY
(Account, pp. 187-205)

CALCUTTA IN THE 18th CENTURY

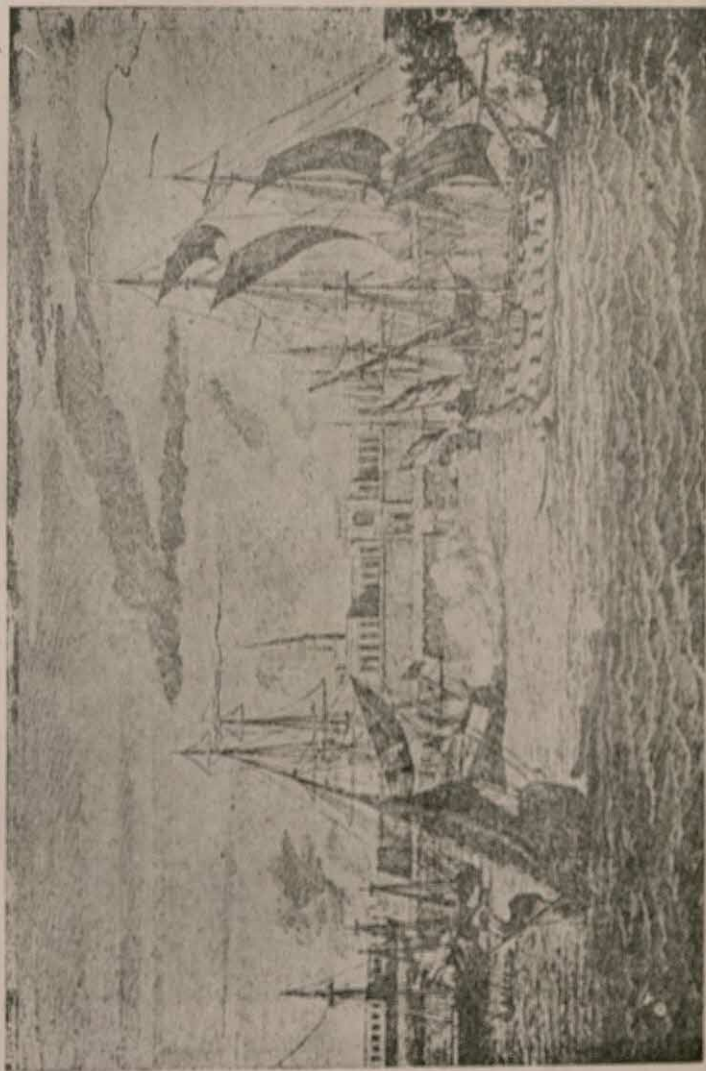


II.

ARTIST WILLIAM HODGES

Account, pp. 206-209)

CALCUTTA IN THE 18th CENTURY



THE CELEBRATED OLD FORT WILLIAM IN 1730

CALCUTTA IN THE 18th CENTURY



IV.

CELEBRATED MEN OF "BLACK HOLE"
Nawab Siraj-ud-Dowlah, Col. Robert Clive,
J. Z. Holwell and Admiral Watson.

CALCUTTA IN THE 18th CENTURY



V. THE MOST CELEBRATED GOVERNOR-GENERAL
AND HIS FRIENDS
Warren Hastings, Sir Philip Francis, Richard Barwell and
William Watts.

CALCUTTA IN THE 18th CENTURY



VI. CELEBRATED LADIES OF OLD CALCUTTA
Mrs. Warren Hastings, Madame Grand,
Mrs. Carey and Mrs. Mills.

CALCUTTA IN THE 18th CENTURY



VII. CELEBRATED JUDGES OF THE SUPREME COURT

Chief Justice Sir Elijah Impey, Sir William Jones, Justice Hyde and
Sir Robert Chambers, Puisne Judges.

CALCUTTA IN THE 18th CENTURY



VIII. CELEBRATED "BEGUMS" AND "NAWABS"
 Empress and Emperor Farrukh Siyar ; "Begum"
 Johnson and her fourth husband Rev. Johnson.

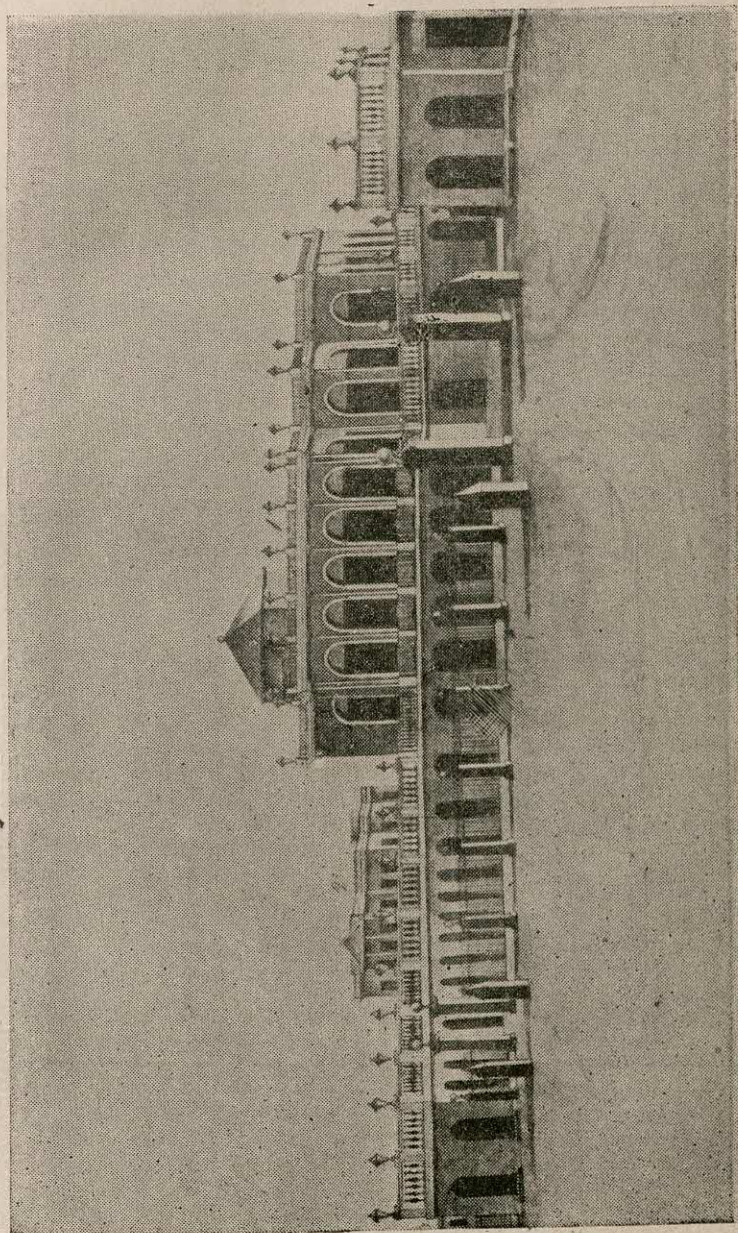
CALCUTTA IN THE 18th CENTURY



IX. THE MOST CELEBRATED ARTIST WHO
VISITED CALCUTTA
John Zoffany

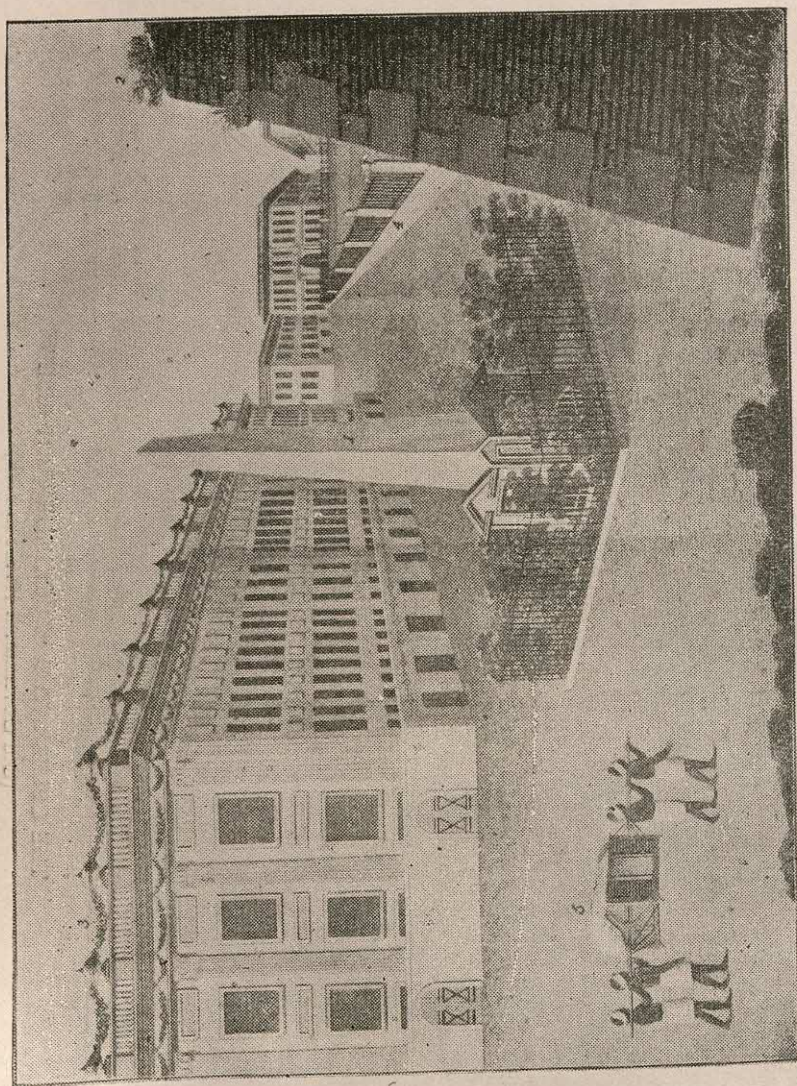


THE MOST CELEBRATED PICTURE IN CALCUTTA
Zoffany's "Last Supper"



THE CELEBRATED "BUCKINGHAM HOUSE"
(Old Government House in 1790)

CALCUTTA IN THE 18th CENTURY



XII. THE CELEBRATED "BLACK HOLE" MONUMENT IN 1790

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

"A NEW ACCOUNT OF THE EAST INDIES, Being the Observations and Remarks of Captain Alexander Hamilton who spent his time there From the Year 1688 to 1723 Trading and Travelling, by the Sea and Land, to most of the countries and islands of Commerce and Navigation, between the Cape of *Good-hope* and the Island of *Japan*", was published in two volumes, in 1727. This was printed by John Mosman, One of His Majesty's Printers, and sold at the King's Printing-house in Craig's Closs, Edinburgh. A second edition appeared in 1744 and a third editon, in two volumes, annotated by William Foster, was published by Argonaut Press, London.

Hamilton introduces himself as 'having a rambling mind and a fortune too narrow to allow him to travel like a gentleman'. He therefore 'applied himself to the study of nautical affairs', and having spent his younger days 'in visiting most of the maritime kingdoms of Europe and some parts of Barbary', and having made a voyage to Jamaica, he went out to the East Indies in 1688, and remained there till 1723. During this time he seems to have followed a life of commercial adventure, sometimes as a captain of a ship, sometimes as supercargo, sometimes in a ship of his own, or in one privately owned, sometimes in a ship of one or other of the rival companies, and so to have visited almost every port, from Jeddah in the Red Sea to Amoy in China. His adventures and experiences are told in a most interesting manner in his *New Account of the East Indies*, a work which, in the charm of its naive simplicity, perfect honesty, with some similarity of subjects in its account of the manners and history of people little known, offers a closer parallel to the history of Herodotus than perhaps any other in modern literature.

Hamilton was the first 'interloper' or free merchant to reside in Calcutta for some years, owning a house for himself. His account is the first of its kind from a visitor. Early in July 1705 he anchored off Calcutta with three ships and in 1706 he again

came to Calcutta. In 1708 he travelled overland to Balasore and from thence he repaired to Calcutta, where on 8th November, he appeared before the Council to ask that his mortgage of his dwelling house for 2902 rupees might be registered. A fortnight later his sale of a vessel called the *Industry* to Ralph Sheldon for Rs. 2100 was also placed on record. His house was sold next year (26 Dec. 1709) for Rs. 2500 at an auction.

Hamilton was a Scotsman. His parentage is uncertain. He was alive on June 22, 1733. It is remarkable that during the course of his 35 years' travels and voyages, he met with no shipwreck. (Bibliography : *Dictionary of National Biography*, VIII, P.1017; Foster's Introduction to his edition of Hamilton's *New Account* and Wilson's *Early Annals*, Vol. 1).

* *

TOWNS, CITIES, COUNTRY AND CUSTOMS OF Bengal, PARTICULARLY ON THOSE NEAR THE FAMOUS Ganges, WITH SOME HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS ANCIENT AND OF Fort William.*

/Vol. II, Ch. XXIII, P. 3/Pipley¹ lies on the Banks of a River supposed to be a Branch of the *Ganges*, about 5 Leagues from that of *Ballasore*, formerly it was a Place of Trade, and was honoured with *English* and *Dutch* Factories. The Country produces the same Commodities that *Ballasore* does, at present it is reduced to Beggary, by the Factory's Removal to *Hughly* and *Calcutta*, the Merchants being all gone. It is now inhabited by Fishers, as are also *Ingellie*, and *Kidgerie*,² two neighbouring Islands on the West Side of the Mouth of *Ganges*. These Islands abound also in tame Swine, where they are sold very cheap, for I have bought One and twenty good Hogs, between 50 and 80 Pound Weight each, for 17 Rupees, or 45 Shillings Sterling.³ Those Islands send forth dangerous Sand Banks, that are both

* Notes 1 to 38 appearing at the end of Hamilton's *New Account* are taken from Foster's Edition. The text reproduced here is taken from the verbatim reprint of the first edition.

numerous and large, and make the Navigation out and in to *Hughly* River, both troublesom and dangerous, and after we pass those Islands, in going up the River, the Chanel for Shipping is on the East-side, and several Creeks run from the Chanel among a great Number of Islands, formed by different Chanels of *Ganges*, two of which are more remarkable than the rest, viz. *Coxes* and *Sagor*⁴ Islands, where great Ships were obliged to anchor to take in Part of their Cargoes, because several Places in the River are too shallow for great Ships to pass over, when their whole Cargoes are aboard.

There are no Inhabitants on those Islands, for they are so pestered with Tigers, that there could be no Security for human Creatures to dwell on them; nay, it is even dangerous to land on them, or for Boats to anchor near them, for in the Night they have swimm'd to Boats at Anchor, and carried Men out of them, yet among the *Pagans*, the Island *Sagor* is accounted holy, and great Numbers of *Jougies* go yearly thither in the months of *November* and *December* to worship and wash in Salt-water, tho' many of them fall Sacrifices to the hungry Tigers.

/4/ The first safe anchoring Place in the River, is off the Mouth of a River about twelve Leagues above *Sagor*, commonly known by the Name of *Rogues*⁶ River, which had that Appellation from the *Banditti Portugueze*, who were Followers of *Sultan Sujah*, when *Emirjemal*, *Auranzeb's* General, drove the unfortunate Prince out of his Province of *Bengal*, for these *Portuguese* having no Way to subsist, after their Master's Flight, to the kingdom of *Arackan*, betook themselves to Piracy among the Islands, at the Mouth of *Ganges*, and that River having Communication with all the Chanels from *Xatigam*⁷ to the westward, from this River they used to sally out, and commit Depredations on those that traded in the River of *Hughly*.

About 5 Leagues farther up, on the West Side of the River of *Hughly*, is another Branch of the *Ganges*, called *Ganga*⁸, it is broader than that of *Hughly*, but much shallower, and more incumbred with Sand Banks; a little below the Mouth of it the *Danes*⁹ have a thatcht House, but for what Reasons they kept an House there, I never could learn.

Along the River of *Hughly* there are many small Villages and Farms, intersperst in those large Plains, but the first of any Note on the River's Side, is *Culculla*¹⁰, a Market Town for Corn, coarse

Cloth, Butter, and Oyl, with other Productions of the Country ; above it is the *Dutch Bankshall*¹¹, a Place where their Ships ride when they cannot get farther up for the too swift Currents of the River. *Culculla* has a large deep River that runs to the eastward, and so has *Juanpardo*¹², and on the West Side there is a River that runs by the Back of *Hughly* Island, which leads up to *Radnagur*¹³, famous for manufacturing Cotton Cloth, and Silk *Romaals*¹⁵, or Handkerchiefs. *Bussundri*¹⁴ and *Tresindi*, or *Gorgat* and *Cottrong*, are on that River, which produce the greatest Quantities of the best Sugars in Bengal.

A little higher up on the East Side of *Hughly* River, is *Pon-jelly*¹⁶, a Village, where a Corn Mart is kept once or twice in a Week, it exports more Rice than any Place on this River ; and five Leagues farther up on the other Side, is *Tanna*¹⁷ Fort, built to protect the Trade of the River, at a Place convenient enough, where it is not above Half a Mile from Shore to Shore, but it never was of much Use ; for in *Anno* 1686 when the *English* Company quarrelled with the *Mogul*, the Company had several great Ships at *Hughly*, and this Fort was manned in order to hinder their Passage down the River. One 60 Gun Ship approaching pretty near the Fort, saluted it with a Broad-side, which so frightened the Governor and his Myrmidons, that they all deserted their Post, and left their Castle to be plundered by the *English* Seamen. About a League farther up on the other Side of the River, is *Governapore*¹⁸, where there is a little Pyramid built for a Landmark, to /5/ confine¹⁹ the Company's Colony of *Calcutta* or *Fort William*. On that Side, and about a League farther up, stands *Fort William*.

The *English* settled there about the Year 1690, after the *Mogul* had pardoned all the Robberies and Murders committed on his Subjects. Mr. *Job Channock* being then the Company's Agent in *Bengal*, he had Liberty to settle an Emporium in any part on the River's Side below *Hughly*, and for the sake of a large shaddy Tree chose that Place, tho' he could not have chosen a more unhealthful Place on all the River ; for three Miles to the North-eastward, is a Salt-water Lake that overflows in *September* and *October*, and then prodigious Numbers of Fish resort thither, but in *November* and *December* when the Floods are dissipated, those Fishes are left dry, and with their Putrefaction affect the Air with thick stinking Vapours, which the North-east Winds bring with them to *Fort William*, that they cause a yearly Mortality. One

Year I was there, and there were reckoned in *August* about 1200 *English*, some Military, some Servants to the Company, some private Merchants residing in the Town, and some Seamen belonging to Shipping lying at the Town, and before the Beginning of *January* there were four hundred and sixty Burials registered in the Clerk's Book of Mortality.

Mr. *Channock*, choosing the Ground of the Colony, where it now is, reigned more absolute than a *Rajah*, only he wanted much of their Humanity, for when any poor ignorant Native transgressed his Laws, they were sure to undergo a severe Whipping for a Penalty, and the Execution was generally done when he was at Dinner, so near his Dining-room that the Groans and Cries of the poor Delinquent served him for Musick.

The Country about being overspread with *Paganism*²⁰, the Custom of Wives burning with their Deceased Husbands, is also practised here. Before the *Mogul's War*, Mr. *Channock* went one Time with his ordinary Guard of Soldiers, to see a young Widow act that tragical Catastrophe, but he was so smitten with the Widow's Beauty, that he sent his Guards to take her by Force from her Executioners, and conducted her to his Lodgings. They lived lovingly many Years, and had several Children; at length she died, after he had settled in *Calcutta*, but instead of converting her to Christianity, she made him a Proselyte to *Paganism*, and the only Part of *Christianity* that was remarkable in him, was burying her decently, and he built a Tomb over her, where all his Life after her Death, he kept the anniversary Day of her Manner; this was and is the common Report, and I have been Death by sacrificing a Cock on her Tomb, after the *Pagan* credibly informed, both by *Christians* and *Pagans* who lived at *Calcutta* under his Agency, that the Story was really true Matter of Fact.

/6/ *Fort William* was built an irregular Tetragon, of Brick and Morter, called *Puckah*²¹, which is a Composition of Brickdust, Lime, Molasses, and cut Hemp, and when it comes to be dry, it is as hard and tougher than firm Stone or Brick, and the Town was built without Order, as the Builders thought most convenient for their own Affairs, every one taking in what Ground best pleased them for Gardening, so that in most Houses you must pass through a Garden into the House, the *English* building near the River's Side, and the Natives within Land.

The Agency continued till the Year 1705. that the old and new Companies united, and then it became a split Government, the old and new Companies Servants governing Week about, which made it more anarchical than regular.²² Sir *Edward Littleton* was Agent and Consul for the new Company at *Hughly*, when this Union of the Companies was made, and then he was ordered to remove his Factory to *Calcutta*, and being of an indolent Disposition, had let his Accounts with the Company run behind. He was suspended²³, but lived at *Calcutta*, till 1707. that he died there; he was the only President or Precedent in the Company's Service, that lost an Estate of 700 Pounds *per Annum* in so profitable a Post in their Service.

This double-headed Government continued in *Calcutta*, till *January* 1709. that Mr. *Weldon*²⁴ arrived with the Company's Commission to settle it at *Bombay* and *Fort St. George*, which were under the Management of a Governor and Council, which those of the Direction in *England* took to be a better Way to promote their own Creatures, as well as their own Interest. His Term of governing was very short, and he took as short a Way to be enriched by it, by harassing the People to fill his Coffers. There was one singular Instance of it. A poor Seaman had got a pretty *Mustice*²⁵ Wife, a little inclined to Lewdness in her Husband's Absence. She entertained two *Armenians*, who were like to quarrel about sharing her Favours, which coming to the Governor's Ears, he reprimanded them: However, by the strong Perswasion of 500 Rupees paid in hand by one of them, he awarded him to have the sole Right to her, and he carried her to *Hughly*, and bragg'd openly what his Purchase had cost him, to the great Credit and Praise of the Governor; and when the poor Husband returned, he was forced to submit to lose his Mate, under the Pain of Flagellation: Yet he was very shy in taking Bribes, referring those honest Folks, who traffick'd that Way, to the Discretion of his Wife and Daughter, to make the best Bargain they could about the Sum to be paid, and to pay the Money into their Hands. I could give many Instances of the Force of Bribery, both here and elsewhere in *India*, but am loth to ruffle the Skin of old Sores.

/7/ About fifty Yards from *Fort William*, stands the Church²⁶ built by the pious Charity of Merchants residing there, and the *Christian* Benevolence of Sea-faring Men, whose Affairs call them to trade there; but Ministers of the Gospel being sub-

ject to Mortality, very often young Merchants are obliged to officiate, and have a Salary of 50 *l. per Annum* added to what the Company allows them, for their Pains in reading Prayers and Sermons on *Sundays*.

The Governor's House, in the Fort, is the best and most regular Piece of Architecture that I ever saw in *India*. And there are many convenient Lodgings for Factors and Writers, within the Fort, and some Store-houses for the Company's Goods, and the Magazines for their Ammunition.

The Company has a pretty good Hospital at *Calcutta*, where many go in to undergo the Penance of Physick, but few come out to give Account of its Operation. The Company has also a pretty good Garden, that furnishes the Governor's Table with Herbage and Fruits; and some Fish-ponds to serve his Kitchen with good Carp, Calkops²⁷ and Mullet.

Most of the Inhabitants of *Calcutta* that make any tolerable Figure, have the same Advantages; and all Sorts of Provisions, both wild and tame, being plentiful, good and cheap, as well as Clothing, make the Country very agreeable, notwithstanding the above mentioned Inconveniencies that attend it.

On the other Side of the River are Docks made for repairing and fitting their Ships Bottoms, and a pretty good Garden belonging to the *Armenians*, that had been a better Place to have built their Fort and Town in, for many Reasons. One is, that, where it now stands, the After-noon's Sun is full in the Fronts of Houses, and shines hot on the Streets, that are both above and below the Fort, the Sun would have sent its hot Rays on the Back of the Houses, and the Fronts had been a good Shade for the Streets²⁸.

Most Gentlemen and Ladies in *Bengal* live both splendidly and pleasantly, the Fore-noons being dedicated to Business, and after Dinner to Rest, and in the Evening to recreate themselves in Chaises or *Palankins* in the Fields, or to Gardens, or by Water in their *Budgeroes*, which is a convenient Boat, that goes swiftly with the Force of Oars; and, on the River, sometimes there is the Diversion of Fishing or Fowling, or both; and, before Night, they make friendly Visits to one another, when Pride or Contention do not spoil Society, which too often they do among the Ladies, as Discord and Faction do among the Men. And altho' the conscript Fathers of the Colony disagree in many Points

among themselves, yet they all agree in oppressing Strangers, who are consigned to them, not suffering them to buy or /8/ sell their Goods at the most advantageous Markets, but of the Governor and his Council, who fix their Prices, high or low, as seemeth best to their Wisdom and Discretion : And it is a Crime hardly pardonable for a private Merchant to go to *Hughly*, to inform himself of the current Prices of Goods, altho' the Liberty of buying and selling is intirely taken from him before.

The Garrison of Fort *William* generally consists of 2 or 300 Soldiers, more for to convey their Fleet from *Patana*, with the Company's Saltpetre, and Piece Goods, raw Silk and some Ophium belonging to other Merchants, than for the Defence of the Fort, for, as the Company holds their Colony in fee Tail of the *Mogul*, they need not be afraid of any Enemies coming to dispossess them. And if they should, at any Time, quarrel again with the *Mogul*, his prohibiting Subjects to trade with the Company, would soon end the Quarrel.

There are some impertinent troublesom Rajahs, whose *Territories* ly on the Banks of the *Ganges*, between *Patana* and *Cassembazaar*, who pretend a Tax on all Goods and Merchandize, that pass by, or through their Dominions on the River, and often raise Forces to compel Payment ; but some Forces from Fort *William* in Boats, generally clear the Passages, tho' I have known some of our Men killed in the Skirmishes.

In *Calcutta* all Religions are freely tolerated, but the *Presbyterian* and that they brow-beat. The *Pagans* carry their Idols in Procession thro' the town. The *Roman Catholicks*²⁹ have their Church to lodge their Idols in, and the *Mahometan* is not discountenanced ; but there are no Polemicks, except what are between our High-Church Men and our low, or between the Governor's Party and other private Merchants on Points of Trade.

The Colony has very little Manufactory of its own, for the Government being pretty arbitrary, discourages Ingenuity and Industry in the Populace ; for, by the Weight of the Company's Authority, if a Native chance to disoblige one of the Upperhouse, he is liable to arbitrary Punishment, either by Fine, Imprisonment or corporal Sufferings. I will give one Instance, out of many, that I knew of the Injustice of a Governor of the double-headed Government in *Anno* 1706.

There was one Captain *Perrin*³⁰ Master of a Ship, who took up about 500 L. on *respondentia* from Mr. *Ralph Sheldon* one of the Governors, on a Voyage to *Persia*, payable at his return to *Bengal*. *Perrin* having dispatched his Affairs in *Persia* sooner than he expected, called at *Goa* in his Way Home, and bought a *Surat*-built Ship very cheap, and carried her to *Calecut*, and took in a Quantity of Pepper for the *Bengal* Market ; and having brought in his other Ship, good Store of *Persia* Wines, called at /9/ Fort St. *George* to dispose of what he could there, but finding no Encouragement from that Market, carried it to *Bengal*. On his Arrival he complimented Mr. *Sheldon* with the Offer of his Pepper and Wine, but he declined meddling with that Bargain, farther than with as much of the Pepper, at the current Price, as would balance his Account of Principal and *respondentia*. Accordingly *Perrin* delivered so much Pepper, and, on the Delivery, required his Bond up, but the Governor told him, that he being a Fellow troubled with the Spirit of interlopping in buying Goods and taking Freights where he could best get them, he would keep that Bond as a Curb on him, that he should not spoil his Markets for the future. Poor *Perrin* used all his Rhetorick to get his Bond up, but to no Purpose ; and the Governor moreover gave his Wine a bad Name, so that he could not dispose of that either, and all his Oppression was in order to straiten him, that he might be obliged to sell his new purchased Ship, at a low Price, to him and his Associates, which, at last, he was obliged to do, holding a Quarter Part in his own Hands to secure the Command of her to himself, which, after all, he could hardly do. *Perrin* made his Complaint to me, but I was in no Condition to assist him, because I, having three or four large Ships at *Bengal*, was reckoned a Criminal guilty of that unpardonable Sin of Interlopping ; however, I advised *Perrin* to comply with his inexorable Master, on any Terms of Agreement whatsoever, which he endeavoured to do, that he might, at least, keep the Command of his Ship, where he was so much concerned, and had hardly done it, but by Accident. One Day meeting me on the Green near the Fort, he stopt me to relate his Grievances, and begged, that, if he was turned out of his own Ship, he might have an Employ in one of mine, which I promised he should.

Sheldon espied us, out of a Window, holding a long Confabulation, and being impatient to know about what, sent a

Servant to call *Perrin*, and he, obeying the Summons, was interrogated about what our Discourse was ; and he told the Promise I had made him. *Sheldon* told him, that he was as capable to employ him, as I could be. *Perrin* answered, that he knew that, but wished that he would be as willing too ; so *Sheldon* promised that he should command his own Ship to *Persia*.

But the Wine still lay unsold, tho' it was scarce then in *Bengal* ; but the Name that it got, first at Fort St. *George*, and afterward in Fort *William*, stuck so fast to it, that none of it would go off at any Price, so I advised him to carry it off in the Night, in my Boats, on board of one of my Ships, and I would try if I could serve him in selling it, which accordingly he did; and two Gentlemen of the Council, being that Season bound for *England*, /10/ coming one Day to dine with me, I treated them, and the rest of my Company, with that *Persia* Wine, which they all praised, and askt me where I got it. I told them, that, knowing that good Wines would be scarce at *Bengal* that Year, I had provided a good Quantity at *Surat*, from whence I had come that Season. Every one begged that I would spare them some *Chests*, which I condescended to do as a Favour, and next Day sent them what they wanted, at double the Price the Owner demanded for it, while he had it, and so got off above 120 Chests, which enabled Mr. *Perrin* to satisfy most of his creditors.

Sheldon provided a Stock and Freight for *Perrin* to *Persia*, and put on board some rotten long Pepper, that he could dispose of no other Way, and some damaged *Gunnies*³¹, which are much in Use in *Persia* for embalging Goods, when they are good in their Kind ; but, *volens volens*, *Perrin* must take them, and sign Bills of Lading for good well conditioned Goods ; and yet, after he was ready to sail, he had been stopt, if he could not raise the Sum of 2500 Rupees, to discharge a Bill, that, at that Time, became due, and was indorsed to *Sheldon*. I also helped him out of that Difficulty, and took his Bond for the Sum, bearing Interest from the Date, at the current Interest of 1 *per Cent. per Mensem*, so *Perrin* proceeded on his *Voyage* to *Persia*, but called at *Calecut* in his Way Home again, and laid up his Ship there, and took Protection of a *Nayer*, with the full Hand³² of 11000 *L. Sterl.* of *Bengal* Money, and wrote to Mr. *Sheldon*, that he might keep his former Bond, and he would take Care

of his Part of the Stock in his Hands. He also wrote to me, that he would take particular Care to reimburse me, but, in a short Time after, he died, and his Effects came into the *English* Chief's Hands, who detained them several Years, denying that ever he had any, till Governor *Boone* came to the Government of *Bombay* in 1715. and then he made a lame Account. I have been so prolix and particular in this Story, that it may form an Idea of the Deformity and dismal Image and Tyranny and Villany supported by a Power, that neither divine or human Laws have Force enough to bridle or restrain.

The Company's Colony is limited by a Land-mark at *Governapore*, and another near *Barnagul*, about six Miles distant ; and the Salt-water Lake bounds it on the Land Side. It may contain, in all, about 10 or 12000 Souls ; and the Company's Revenues are pretty good, and well paid. They rise from Ground-Rents and Consulage on all Goods imported and exported by *British* Subjects ; but all Nations besides are free from Taxes.

Chapter XXIV

Is a continuation of the Description of Bengal.

/11/ *Barnagul*³³ is the next Village on the River's Side, above *Calcutta*, where Dutch have an House and Garden, and the Town is famously infamous for a Seminary of female Lewdness, where Numbers of Girls are trained up for the Destruction of unwary Youths, who study more how to gratify their brutal Passions, than how to shun the evil Consequences that attend their Folly, notwithstanding the daily Instances of Rottenness and Mortality that happen to those who most frequent those Schools of Debauchery. The *Dutch* Shipping anchors there sometimes, to take in their cargoes for *Batavia*. And those are all that are remarkable at *Barnagul* or *Barnagur*.

There are several other *Villages* on the River's Sides, in the Way to *Hughly* which lies 20 Miles above *Barnagul*, but none remarkable, till we come to the *Danes*³⁴ Factory, which stands about four Miles below *Hughly*, but the Poverty of the *Danes* has made them desert it, after having robbed the *Mogul's* Subjects of some of their Shipping, to keep themselves from starving.

Almost opposite to the *Danes Factory* is *Bankebanksal*³⁵, a Place where the *Ostend Company* settled a Factory, but, in *Anno* 1723. they quarrelled with the *Fouzdaar* or Governor of *Hughly*, and he forced the *Ostenders* to quit their Factory, and seek Protection from the *French* at *Charnagur*³⁶, where their Factory, is, but, for Want of Money, are not in a Capacity to trade. They have a few private Families dwelling near the Factory, and a pretty little Church to hear *Mass* in, which is the chief Business of the *French* in *Bengal*.

About half a League farther up is the *Chinchura*, where Dutch *Emporium* stands. It is a large Factory, walled high with Brick. And the Factors have a great many good Houses standing pleasantly on the River's Side : and all of them have pretty Gardens to their Houses. The *Chinchura* is wholly under the *Dutch Company's* Government. It is about a Mile long, and about the same Breadth, well inhabited by *Armenians* and the Natives. It is contiguous to *Hughly*, and affords Sanctuary for many poor Natives, when they are in Danger of being oppress by the *Mogul's* Governor, or his *Harpies*.

Hughly is a Town of a large Extent, but ill built. It reaches about 2 Miles along the River's side, from the *Chinchura* before mentioned to the *Bandel*, /12/ a Colony formerly settled by the *Portugueze*, but the *Mogul's Phouzdaar* governs both at present. This Town of *Hughly* drives a great Trade, because all foreign Goods are brought thither for Import, and all Goods of the Product of *Bengal* are brought hither for Exportation. And the *Mogul's Furza*³⁷ or Custom-house is at this Place. It affords rich Cargoes for fifty or sixty Ships yearly, besides what is carried to neighbouring Countries in small Vessels ; and there are Vessels that bring Salt-petre from *Patana*, above 50 Yards long, and 5 broad, and two and an half deep, and can carry above 200 Tuns. They come down in the Month of *October*, before the Stream of the River, but are obliged to track them up again, with Strength of Hand, about 1000 Miles. To mention all the particular Species of Goods that this rich Country produces, is far beyond my Skill ; but, in our *East-india Company's* Sales, all the Sorts, that are sent hence to *Europe*, may be found ; but *Ophium*, long *Pepper* and *Ginger* are Commodities that the trading Shipping in *India*, deals in, besides *Tobacco*, and many Sorts of Piece Goods, that are not merchantable in *Europe*.

The *Bandel*³⁸, at present, deals in no Sort of Commodities, but what are in Request at the Court of *Venus*, and they have a Church, where the Owners of such Goods and Merchandize are to be met with, and the Buyer may be conducted to proper Shops, where the Commodities may be seen and felt, and a Priest to be Security for the Soundness of the Goods.

(Notes (pp. 172-174).

Page 3.

1. Pippli is on the Subarnarekha, which is not a branch of the Ganges. Factories were established there in turn by the Portuguese and the Dutch, but never by the English.
2. Hijili ('Ingellie') and Kedgerree are both on the mainland (on the western side of the Hugly estuary). The districts around them are not really island, but were often deemed to be such, owing to the abundance of waterways.
3. Forty-five shillings, at 2 s. 6 d. would equal eighteen rupees, not seventeen.
4. Coxe's Island, which lay to the northwards of the original Saugor Island, has now become merged into the latter.
6. There were three or four creeks running into the Hugli River from the eastern creeks of the Sunderbans, and the name of the River of Rogues seems to have been applied to each in turn. (*Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 208).

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7. The pirates who frequented the River of Rogues were rather Arakanese than Portuguese. 'Xatigam' represents a Portuguese form of Chittagong.
8. Hamilton's Ganga is Rupnarain *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 209 n.).
9. In Valentijn's map of Bengal (vol. V. p. 147) the Danish station is shown (as 'Deense Logie') on the east bank, opposite the mouth of the Basanderi River (i.e. the Kana Damodar).
10. Culculla, which was on the eastern shore, has now disappeared. Its 'large deep river' is probably the later Vanzan Creek, now silted up.
11. *Bankshal* (trade-house) was properly an office for the payment of harbour dues and tolls.

12. 'Juanpardo' Creek, on the western side, was the Ulabaria Khal of the present day.

13. 'Radnagur' is Radhanugurra, about 40 miles west of Calcutta. The river on which it is described as standing was possibly (as suggested in *Hedges' Diary* vol. III, p. 213) a branch of the Saraswati that has since dried up.

14. 'Bussundri' is Basandhari. 'Tresindi' is identified by Sir Richard Temple (*Diaries of Streyntsham Master*, vol. I, p. 481 n.) with the earlier Tissinda, which he places conjecturally in the neighbourhood of Kasimbazar.

15. 'Romaals' (*rumal*) were used either for handkerchiefs or for mufflers.

16. For 'Ponjelly' see *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 213.

17. Thana Fort was $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles below Fort William. It was captured by the English in February 1687.

18. 'Governapore' is Govindpur.

19. To 'confine' is to mark the boundary.

Page 5.

20. On the question of Job Charnock's paganism, see Wilson vol. I. p. 93. It may be noted that he caused his three daughters by his native wife to be baptized.

Page 6.

21. *Pakka* (permanent) is applied to buildings constructed of solid materials such as brick; but Hamilton here uses it as meaning *Chunam* (prepared lime), which was employed as cement and plaster for such erections.

22. The 'Rotation Government', presided over in alternate weeks by Robert Hedges and Ralph Sheldon, was inaugurated in February 1704 (Wilson, vol. I. p. 162).

23. Littleton's dismissal took place in November 1705. He died 24 October 1707.

24. Anthony Weltden became President on 20 July 1710. He was superseded, on 4 March 1711, under orders from home, by John Russell, and he left for England early in the following year. For an account of him see Wilson, vol. II. p. 307. I suspect that 'as' has been omitted after 'settle it'.

25. 'Mustice' is the Portuguese mestico, 'half-caste'.

Page 7.

26. The church of St. Anne was completed in 1709. The erection of a hospital was commenced in 1707.

27. 'Calkops' is explained in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (under 'Calcops') as an obsolete term for 'a kind of fish'; this passage being quoted as the sole authority.

28. In making these remarks on the choice of a site for the settlement, Hamilton fails to appreciate that security was the main consideration, and that this would have been lacking on the west bank of the river.

Page 8.

29. A Roman Catholic chapel of brick was erected in 1700, replacing a temporary structure (Cotton's *Calcutta Old and New*, p. 647).

30. In the Consultations of 4 and 24 July 1707, Captain Charles Perrin is mentioned as having been recently the owner of a vessel named the *Sceptre*. He was then in debt to several persons at Calcutta. His name was long commemorated in Perrin's Garden, a pleasure resort situated where Bagh Bazar now stands.

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31. 'Gunny' was the current name for coarse sacking, made of jute.

32. 'Full hand' is an obsolete expression, here meaning 'at least'.

33. 'Barnagul' is Baranagar, six miles north of Calcutta. The Dutch settlement there was ceded to the British in 1795.

34. The Danish factory (called by them Danemarksnagore) was situated at Gondalpara, in the south-eastern part of what is now the French territory of Chandernagore. The departure of the Danes took place at the end of 1714. (Wilson, vol. II, pp. 199-203, 215). In the abstract (see vol. I. p. 251) of a letter from Hamilton, of 15 April 1716, we find the following account of the affair. "The Moores in Bengall insulted the Danes, who were indebted to the Mogul's subjects circ(a) £ 8000 stg. They were assaulted in their factory, and some killed on both sides. The Danes escaped in the night with two boates, being 16 in number. They boarded a large Turkish shipp belonging to Suratt and carried her, notwithstanding there were 40 Turks aboard. They

have declared warr with the Mogull and all his allies : which gives us hopes of meliorating our English trade by their discord'.

35. The Ostend Company's settlement was at Bankibazar, three miles above Barrackpore. An abstract of a letter from Fort William, 1 September 1724, refers as follows to their abandonment of the post : 'The German Count kill'd in their war with the Moors. They were beat out of the Danes factory, tho fortify'd. Hear their Chief and Council are returning to their settlement at Covelong, having two sloops to carry them thither. The French protected them at Chandernagur, but not to tarry longer than 31th August'.

36. In the text 'Charnagur' is Chandernagore.

Page 12.

37. 'Furza' is an unusual term for a custom-house. Apparently it is connected with the Arabic *furzat*, which means both a harbour and a customs duty.

38. The Portuguese church at Bandel (now a suburb of Hugli) was founded in 1599 and completely rebuilt in 1660. It is still standing.

2

FATHER MATTEO RIPA

Matteo Ripa was born on March 29, 1682, at Eboli, Lucania, in the Diocese of Salerno. His mother was Antonia Longa; his father Gianfilippo Ripa, of the Barons of Planchetella, followed the medical profession. With a view to go to the China Missions, he entered the Collegio Urbano *de Propaganda Fide*, at the end of 1705, together with D. Gennaro Amodei, a Priest of Citta di S. Marco in Calabria. In 1707, Pope Clement XI, wishing to honour with the purple Mgr. Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon, his legate in China, appointed 6 Missionaries to bear to him the Cardinal's hat. They were: D. Onorato Funari, D. D., of Tondi, then Parish-priest of S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini in Rome; Padre Guglielmo Fabri Bonjour, an Augustinian of Tolosa; Padre Giuseppe Ceru, of the Clerics Minor of Lucca; Padre D. Domenico Perrone, a Neapolitan; D. Gennaro Amodei, and D. Matteo Ripa. In January 1708, the 5 Missionaries reached London, disguised as seculars. After being detained about 4 months in the Thames, they sailed from England in the *Donegal* and the *Santa Barbara* on June 4, 1708. Arriving at the Cape on September 6, they left it on the 13th. On December 9, they were within sight of Sumatra; but, scurvy broke out among the crew and passengers and the Captain of the *three* vessels which had been travelling together made for Bengal by the channel between the Nicobar Islands. On January 22, 1709, they sighted the Coasts of Orissa; but, on account of the shallow water, they arrived before Balasore only on the 26th.

The following interesting account of Ripa's visit to Calcutta in February 1709 is taken from his *Storia della Fondazione della Congregazione e del Collegio de' Cinesi sotto il titolo della Sagra Famiglia di G. C.*, a work in 3 volumes (Napoli, Manfredi, 1832, Tom. I. 197-233). The portion dealing with Father Ripa's visit to Bengal has been translated from the original Italian by Father H. Hosten and published in *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. VIII (Serial No. 15 & 16, January-June, 1914, pp. 52-63, & 166-180).

We possess so few missionary accounts of Bengal in those early days that we cannot value Abbate Ripa's too highly. We trust it will be welcomed by such as are interested both in the origins of Catholic life in Calcutta and in the story of the gradual expansion of our metropolis. Calcutta, two hundred (and seventy five) years ago, must have been a very primitive sort of place, indeed, when an Italian spelt its name *Golicatan*; when the *maidan* reached from the then Fort William as far as Portuguese Church, Murghihata, and when the great botanical wonder was not the banyan-tree of the Botanical Gardens, but the tamarind-tree of the English cemetery.

Ripa arrived in China in 1710 and was well received at the Court, for he was a good painter and succeeded as an engraver. In 1714 he began a small Seminary at Pekin. In November 1723 he left China with 5 of his Chinese pupils and reached Naples in 1724 after a journey of one year and five days. His endeavours to establish a Missionary College for the Chinese at Naples received the Pope's approval on March 17, 1725. A school and Church were built at Naples in 1729, and the new Institute of the Sacred Family of Jesus Christ was approved by Pope Clement XII. on April 7, 1732. Cf. *Storia*, III, 448 *sqq.* Ripa died on March 29, 1746, aged 64 years. His portrait appears in the beginning of Vol. I of his *Storia*.

According to A. de Gubernatis, a hostile writer, Ripa's College still exists at Naples under the title of Collegio Asiatico; "but, in its present condition, it is inadequate to preparing zealous apostles for the Mission of Asia, as in the past century, or to becoming a practical school for living oriental languages, as the modern needs of our commerce with the Asiatic nations would require(!)". Cf. *Storia dei Viaggiatori Italiani*, Livorno, 1875, p. 61.

Ripa tells us that, after Cardinal de Tournon's death, Ceru and Perrone were obliged by the Mandarins to leave Macao for India.

We sent to *The Voice*, Rangoon, a passage from Ripa's *Storia* on Lazaro Lazaro, a young Peguan half caste from Cosmi (Bassein), who had come to Rome to prepare himself for the priesthood. No other references to India were found. (H. Hosten, S. J.)

An abridged translation of Father Ripa's *Memoirs* by Fortunato Prandi (in 160 pages) was published in London in 1844,

of which the National Library at Calcutta possesses a copy. We are reproducing the relevant portion from the *Memoirs* as an appendix to the late Father Hosten's translation reproduced here for the satisfaction of inquisitive readers.

* *

THE ABBATE D. MATTEO RIPA AT BALASORE*

/197/ The twenty-sixth (of January, 1709), early in the morning, our Captain sent the boat to land to apprise the Commissary of the Company, who lives in the town of Bellasor, where the French too and the Dutch have their Factors, of the arrival of our ship, and ask him to send the river pilot. Like the London Thames the river is full of sandbanks known only to the pilots who are acquainted with the river. The pilot was to bring the ship safely into harbour and bring with him a good provision of refreshments for the sake of the sick.

With the Captain's leave, our Father Fabri also went in the boat, to recruit his health and find something for Father Perrone, who suffered much from the aforesaid sickness and was resolved /198/ to stop at Bellasor, until he should have recovered. It proved, however, unnecessary, for the refreshments cured him in a few days. Our boat returned with cows, pigs, goats, fowls, rice, fresh fish, onions, fresh cocoanuts, spinage, lettuce, headed-cabbage (*cavoli cappucci*), brinjals (*petronciane*)¹, a kind of sweet roots (radishes?), plantains (*plantani*)², and sundry other comestibles, all fresh and in abundance. When I saw the cows and goats, I took them for calves and kids, so small were they; but, when, to my great astonishment, I saw their young ones sucking their mothers' udders, I judged they were goats and

* This is the beginning of Ripa's travels in Bengal. The pagination of the original text is retained. Notes are by Fr. Hosten.

1. Pietro della Valle (1616) writes about *brinjals*: "It seems to be one of those fruits which are called in good Tuscan *petronciani*, but which by the Lombards are called *melanzane*, and by the vulgar at Rome *marignani*, and, if my memory does not deceive me, by the Neapolitans in their patois *molegnane*". (Cf. Yule-Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, 1886, s.v. *brinjaul*.)
2. *Plantani* are plantains. Further, Ripa calls them "figs".

cows. Not only have these small goats the size of kids, but their horns are so small as if they had only just sprouted, and, the cows have a hump on their back, and their legs are so slender and their feet so small that they look like those of deer rather than of cows.

At noon, there came another boat carrying the river pilots. Our Father Fabri returned with it, and he told us that in Bellassor, which stands on the sea-board, he had found there was a Church of one of their Augustinian Fathers, who was the Missionary of the place, as also of Pipoli and Bangia.³ He had received him very affectionately and had presented him with two habits of his Order, the cloth being a texture of wild silk and filaments drawn from the bark of certain very white and very pretty trees. To us he sent a big box of biscuits, fresh bread and plantains, a fruit of which I shall speak further. Father Fabri told us also that this Father had said to him there were five hundred Catholic Natives in Bellassor ; /199/ but they were very much scandalised by our Europeans, especially by the Dutch. It is the reason of their tepidity, and of the reluctance of the Heathens in embracing out Holy Religion, while, on the contrary, great good is done inland, where the effects of these scandals are not felt. He added that the Church was of masonry (*di fabbrica*) and pretty ; that it was standing in the middle of two gardens, and that both it and some Catholic graves, built in the shape of pyramids, were the best buildings of the country, the houses, commonly consisting of earth, straw, and planks, being low and constructed without order. He gave us also the news that the French Factor had told him that all along that coast there was no ship bound for China ; but, there were three of them in Ugli under Catholic Captains (*di padroni Cattolici*), which were about to set sail for the Philippine Islands, and, if we went dressed like Ecclesiastics, for we had travelled so far in secular disguise, they would take us in gratis.

In the evening of the twenty-eighth, the Captain sent the boat again to the shore for a new stock of fresh provisions. In the morning on the thirtieth, they returned with a cargo of it,

3. It would seem, then, that Pipli and Bangia, two old Christian settlements, already in existence in the third decade of the seventeenth Century, were now merely visited. I discuss the position of these two places in my notes on Manrique.

and, in the afternoon, thanks to the tide, and with the river-pilot on board, we directed our course towards the mouth of the great Ganges river, to go and lie at anchor before the English Factory. That night, as the tide was against us, we cast anchor. Six hours later, the tide was in our favour, but we did not weigh anchor for fear of running against the two sandbanks lying in front of the embouchure of that great river. /200/ The next morning, however, the first of the month of February, and the eve of Our Lady's Purification, we went on as long as the flow lasted. It helped us to get safely beyond the said two great sandbanks and cast anchor in the mouth of the river. The river is so enormously broad that, to see both sides, one had to go up the main mast. After advancing another six hours with the tide, the river grew more and more narrow, until, to the great satisfaction of all, we could enjoy the sight of the two banks.

On the third, our ship lay the whole night at anchor. At the first break of day, we weighed the anchors, set sail, and reached happily the much longed-for goal of our journey from the Cape to Bengala. This was on the second day of the octave of the Purification of that great Lady who had protected us all through our long and disastrous journey.

THE ABBATE D. MATTEO RIPA IN CALCUTTA, 1709.

Chapter XI. My arrival in Bengala. My surprise at the ignorance and blindness of the idolatrous natives and of some European Missionaries. Rare qualities of some fruits of those places, which I describe.

/201/ On our arrival at Bengala¹, notice having been sent to Golicatan² by the English Factor residing at Ugli, some English Officials living at Golicatan came in an Indian boat, carrying twelve oars and sails, to take the Captain and the supercargoes, and convey them to Golicatan, where stands the English Factory. We learnt from these gentlemen that the said three ships had to set sail after three days for the Philippine Islands, and that no ship there was bound that year either for China or even for any harbour near it. Hence, as I was in good health, I decided to start for those Islands, where I would take ship for China.

S.C.E.R.I. West Bengal

Date 27.2.92

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In the instructions given us by the Sacred Congregation we read that, if all could not embark, one or more, who could, should do so, the others awaiting some suitable opportunity for doing the same. His Holiness had ordered us, too, orally to settle by a plurality of votes any doubts that might arise. So, I assembled my companions and laid the matter before them. Though my resolution did not please them, since they would lose my services in their present ailing condition, yet the above instruction ordered but too clearly that he should go who could ; /202/ and, as it was altogether necessary that one at least should go, if the letters to Cardinal de Tournon were to be delivered with care, they made a virtue of necessity, and decided unanimously that I should go and make arrangements for the embarking of two others of them, viz. Father Ceru and Fabri. These two hoped that fresh food would restore them to health. As for Amodei and Perrone, it seemed altogether impossible for them to recover, except after some months, such was the weakness and prostration to which the scurvy had reduced them. Signor Giuseppe Migliorucci, the Florentine merchant in London, who, on instructions received from the Sacred Congregation, had made the arrangements for our voyage, had told us there he had agreed with the Captain that, if his vessel did not go straight to China, he should at his own expense put us on board another ship. On this understanding, we spoke to the Captain through an interpreter to know his intention ; but, he asked us if we had any paper to prove the point. We said no, whereupon he replied that Signor Migliorucci was certainly mistaken. He had never promised him to send us to China at his own expense, in case his ship did not go there. Moreover, I may say that, had he agreed to it, he would not have been bound to do so, after having fed us four months on the river at his expense, which he was not obliged to do. Considering then that the Captain was right in rejecting our application, and that one of us had not more than twenty pieces of eight³, another thirty, another a little more than forty,—a total insufficient to pay our passage even /203/ up to the Philippines—one may understand how, with no better outlook, we were to be pitied, and to what straits we should have been brought, if our Blessed Lord had not with singular providence provided for us, amply and *usque ad delicias*, from Bengala to Manilla, and again from Manilla to China, as the reader will see, and he may bless the Lord for it and learn

therefrom always to put his trust in God's Providence, which never fails those who undertake something for God's service.

I then pressed the Captain kindly to give me some place in the boat, that I might go to Golicatan and settle everything for my journey and that of my two other companions on board the three ships going to the Philippine Islands. He excused himself, saying there was not enough room for all—which was true—in the only cabin, or cot of the boat, and he urged me to embark that night, not to lose so good and quick an opportunity of going to the Philippines at once. I begged of him to admit me at least outside the cabin, in the open air, among the common herd (*ciurma*). To this he objected that it was against his dignity and mine; but, as I insisted repeatedly for it as for a favour, alleging our said necessity, he said finally that he did not admit me; still, if I went, he would certainly not drive me away. It was enough for my purpose. About midnight, the tide and the wind being favourable, the boat left, and I who was eagerly on the look-out, for fear of missing my chance, /204/ got down with the rest and sat down outside⁴. After a short time, the Captain and his suite started sleeping, and I too, over-diff of with fatigue, I fell asleep where I was, in the open air. And, I wrapped myself up in my mantle, one from Sassano in Calabria, under which I had stitched my clerical mantle with the intention of unstitching it later, as I did, and making use of it. Luckily for me. That night, it rained without my remarking it, and, when I woke in the morning, I found myself quite wet. Evidently, it might have been enough to cause a serious illness: but, thanks to God, I did not get so much as a cold. Something still more astonishing happened to me later in Tartary. Having had to sleep one night in the open country, the next morning I found ice all around me; but I felt as fresh and healthy as if I had slept comfortably in a warm and downy bed. So true is it that, in cases over which one has no control, the Lord watches over the Missionary toiling for His sake.

On the morning of the fourth, as we were going along the river-bank, where the contrary current had no strength, we passed near a place, where there was Bazar, or market⁵. Here they were selling rice, fruits, dried fish, native sweetmeats, seeds, grass (*herbe*), cloth, etc. The concourse of the country-folk was extraordinary, and it was curious indeed to see running here and there among them sundry troupes of singers and musicians play-

ing instruments I had never seen before. Their music was so hideous that our captain was forced to call to order and silence a troupe of them, /205/ who, thinking they would amuse us and show us humour, had entered knee-deep into the river and come close to our boat.

Afterwards, it happened that, as I was all alone in a corner of the boat, and reciting the Divine office—all five of us, we had covered our breviary with a white cover to make it look like an ordinary book and hide from the Heretics what we were doing, since we were disguised as seculars, as I said above—it happened, I say, that someone asked me from behind in Portuguese, “Sir, are you a Priest?”⁶ I looked round, and saw the speaker was an Indian boy between fourteen and fifteen years old. He continued to say I was a Priest, and, as I could not deny the truth, neither ought I to reveal it, being still among those Heretics, though they had conjectured it all along from London, I answered him with a scolding. The clever young fellow, understanding my reason for dissimulating, then told me not to be afraid of him. He said he was a Catholic Roman (*Catholico Romano*,) the son of the Captain (*Padrone*) of the boat, his father being however a Pagan. He made the sign of the cross to prove that he had spoken true: his name, he said, was Andrea, and he offered himself for any service, and gave other proofs of his sincerity, so that I could not doubt he was really a Catholic, as he maintained. I then thought it was not perchance that this boy should have recognised me as a Priest, but that a special providence of God had put him in my way to make him guide me in those distant and unknown countries. My confidence grew into certainty later, when our boat arrived at the landing-place, from where we had /206/ to go on to Golicatan.⁷ The Captain and the other Englishmen went off and left me alone in the boat, without even wishing me good-bye. Not knowing whither or to whom to turn for a shelter against the approaching night, I learned from the said boy that there was in Golicatan a hospice of the Augustinian Fathers. I had a letter of recommendation to them from their General. So I asked the boy to give me a guide who would show me the way to the hospice of the Fathers.

Andrea very kindly gave me one of those native boatmen to conduct me to the hospice: but, as they beat him with sticks to make him consent, this man, after having gone some distance,

began shouting, "Ciabi ! Ciabi !" that is, Church ! Church !⁸ and after this ridiculous performance, he turned to me, saying, "Don't you see there is nobody ?" The distance was not short, as I imagined ; it was very long rather ; that was the reason why this man was unwilling to take me further at this hour, when the sky was getting dark.⁹ Guessing his thought, and not wishing to expose myself by night to some danger under such a guide, I went back to Andrea, who substituted another boatman, a Moor by religion. This one did even worse. After going about 3 quarters of an hour, when we came to the top of a high hill (*alto colle*), he began shouting east and west, "Oh Papa, Papa !" ^{/207/} Perhaps he wanted to say, "Oh Padre, Padre," meaning the Augustinian Father. Then, turning to me, he said in his language, which I did not understand, some words which from his gestures I concluded to mean that the Padre I wanted was not there. Hereupon, he turned his back upon me and was going off in another direction. To tell the truth, I was in a bad fix on that occasion. I thought that if I turned back, now that it was night, I might very easily lose my way, the road being unbeaten, winding and intricate. Even if I found it, it would be very difficult among so many ships, big and small, and with my ignorance of the language, to find back Andrea's boat. On the other hand, if I continued to go forward I would not know at all where to go. In this desperate situation, I plucked up courage, raised my tone, uttered threats, and it pleased God in His divine mercy that the Moor should get so frightened as to signify with most humble gestures, and words to me unintelligible, that he would continue to accompany me as far as the Church. I ordered him then by signs to go ahead, for I wanted to remain behind lest he should run away. Promptly he obeyed, and it was amusing to see him continually look back towards me, and, fearing that I might give him some sword-cut, he begged of me through his mimicry to pardon him. As for me, though I had made an effort to look bold and brave, I was so much afraid he might knock me down with a stone that my legs shook so badly that I could hardly hold on my feet, and, if he had shown any inclination to offer resistance, I had made up my mind to run away quickly.

^{/208/} After having walked some time, and always by moonlight, on that hill¹¹, we entered a long country-road, with a green hedge on both sides : in those parts under the Torrid Zone, the

whole ground and the trees are green the whole year : it is like a perpetual Spring, so much so that, nervous, tired, and hungry as I was, I could not but enjoy that delightful verdure. Next, we took other paths and about two o'clock at night, I emerged with my guide into inhabited parts.¹² Quite happy at the thought of having at last reached the Church or hospice of the Augustinians, I found myself in the midst of some soldiers on guard at the gate of a big building, which I heard later was the English Factory.¹³ It was built in the shape of a fortress and defended by big cannon. I got very much frightened, thinking my guide had betrayed me, and my fear grew all the greater when, after he (the guide) had spoken some time in his own language with the soldiers, one of them turned to me and said in Portuguese, "Senhor Padre, what do you want?"¹⁴ Hearing myself addressed as Padre, I was still further confirmed in my fear of some treachery ; but, taking courage, I said I was a passenger from the English ships, and that, having a letter to give to the Augustinian Fathers, I wanted to find out their Church and get from them a lodging for the night. The soldier then told me that it was far and the hour was late ; still, if I wished by all means to go further, he took it upon himself to /209/ make that boatman show me the way, and he confessed to me that he was no longer a Heretic, but a Catholic Roman. In fact, when I told him that I wanted at any cost to go on, he charged the boatman to guide me, and gave me his word for it that I could proceed without any fear.

Across very pleasant fields again, I directed my steps with the said guide towards the hospice of the Augustinian Fathers, and, after a very long but refreshing trudge in the cool night air, I arrived at last, as I judged from some distance by the structure of the gate. I dismissed the Moor, and was now left alone, before the gate of the hospice.¹⁵

I can find no words to express my consolation, when, after such a long journey, I found himself¹⁶ before that Church. Let the reader then imagine it for himself, while I describe only the new danger and trouble I had now to face. I knocked at the door ; but, to start knocking was like giving the signal to the dogs in the neighbourhood for barking and howling : one after another, they came running up and made a big circle around me. At this unexpected juncture, I gave myself up for lost at first ; then, put upon my mettle, I drew myself up with my back

against the wall, and with my sword in its scabbard in one hand, I defended myself against those beasts, frightening them and beating off their attempts to jump upon me. The barking of the dogs, more than the pushing I did at the door with my other hand, succeeded in awakening some boys in the service of that old, deaf-like-a-post Augustinian Padre. They asked me from inside who was knocking, and what I wanted. /210/ When they heard it was a Missionary who was bringing from Rome a letter from the Father General, and that I wanted lodgings for the night, I had plenty of trouble to induce them to take the news to that Father. Finally they went, but brought back the answer that I must come the next morning. I said I was a stranger and did not know of any inn; that I was in imminent danger of being devoured by those dogs; and that, if they were afraid of me, they might lock me up in the Church, or Sacristy, or anywhere they preferred, provided they saved me from my present danger, those dogs being on the point of jumping upon me. They should consider that I was a poor Priest, who begged of them to save his life, etc. When I had said whatever I knew and could say, they were convinced by my reasons and moved to pity by my begging, and they opened the door, but on the understanding that I should not say a word about it the next morning to the afore-said Augustinian Father, or else he might give them such a drubbing.

At last the door opened, and the boys led me to the Church. Here, safe at last, after so many dangers, I prostrated myself humbly before the high Altar¹⁷, and with all the fervour of my heart rendered due thanks to God. The boys, edified and touched at the same time by my conduct, begged pardon of me, and compassionated me with the most affectionate and tender expressions of pity. They would have wished to give me a better place for the night, but they pleaded their fear of the Father's stick. I, who had amply obtained what I wanted, thanked them for their affection, /211/ and declared myself quite pleased and satisfied with their sympathy alone. The boys were very much surprised when, on their asking me how I would pass the night in that Church, I told them I would sleep quite comfortably on a catafalque which I saw in a corner. They asked me, too, how I would manage to protect myself without a curtain against the venomous stings of the mosquitoes, which swarm in those parts. I answered that I would cover myself cosily with my Sassano or

shagreen (*Zigrino*) mantle, the very thing for a vapour-bath in those hot countries. And so I did at once, the moment they had locked me up in the Church. Hungry as I was, I felt so tired that I fell asleep at once, protected by my mantle. In the morning, I got up quite fit and without a single mosquito bite. You must know that those mosquitoes are so many and so much bigger and mischievous than ours that two young English gentlemen of our ship, having come on land some days afterwards, and having slept only one night at Golicatan without protecting themselves against these insects, had their face so swollen and changed, when they came to see me, that I did not recognise them until I heard them speak and learnt their name and surname.

I presented the General's letter to that Augustinian Father, a deaf old man, and ignorant in the superlative degree; but, he was very edifying, and this is a quality wanted more than any other in the Missionaries of those countries, where licentiousness is so rife. The good Father took the letter and, not understanding Latin very well, /212/ he pretended to read it. He would have liked to make out at least the Father General's signature to know his name and surname. As if he had understood the rest of it, he turned to me, and underlining the signature with one of his figures, "Here's the devil," he said. "Read, please." As if he meant to say that he had deciphered all the contents of the letter with the exception of the signature only. I read it then, and told him the name and surname of the Father General; but, more foolishly than before, he asked me whether that was the Father General or the Father Generalissimo. Having regard for his simplicity, and to gain my point, I fell in with his absurdity and said, "That is the Father Generalissimo." My answer pleased his Paternity, and he invited me to dinner that morning. It was the first time after a year that I had the happiness of saying Mass in that church. I said it in thanks giving to God for having brought me safe into that harbour after so many dangers. The Epistle gave me much consolation, for Saint Paul seemed to tell me personally, *"For see your, vocation, brethren, that there are not many wise according to the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble: but the foolish things of the world hath God chosen, that He may confound the wise; and the weak things of the world hath God chosen, that He may confound the strong. And the base things of the world, and the things that are*

contemptible hath God chosen, and things that are not, that He might bring to nought things that are : that no flesh should glory in His sight".¹⁸ With this Epistle the Lord placed before my eyes the sublimity of my vocation and /213/ the many strong reasons I had for debasing myself in His sight and that of men.

After my Mass and my thanksgiving, I went at once to negotiate my passage to Manilla. As luck would have it, I met on the road the Captain of the Gudop,¹⁹ which was to sail for the Philippines. He was a Frenchman named Monsieur la Cloche²⁰. He was being carried along, after the manner of the country, on the shoulders of two Indians, and lay stretched in a hammock tied at both ends of a Bamboo, a reed of those parts. Some of these are so big as to serve as beams, and so strong that they use them as pegs (*chiodi*). This gentleman, on hearing my request about embarking with two companions, turned back at once, and conducted me to the house of Signor Bernabi²¹, an Irishman, for whom the ship was taking in cargo. I had but to expose my request to him to get a free passage and board for three. Straightway I wrote from their very house to give the news to the other companions whom I had left in the ship. After breakfasting with these gentlemen²², I returned to the Augustinian Father to answer his invitation for dinner. Behold then the providence of Almighty God ! When we were hard up for money, we were amply provided with whatever was necessary to get to Manilla : and there our Blessed Lord provided for us even more lavishly. In the afternoon²³, I returned to Signor Bernabi's, and he told me that the Augustinian Father /214/ had come to him to know if it was true that I had been sent by Saint Peter, and that, knowing his silliness, he had told him yes ; whereupon, the Father had asked again whether I was sent by Saint Peter himself, to which he had said, "Yes, by Saint Peter himself."²⁴ That's how the good simple Father conceived such a very high opinion of me that he kept me in his hospice, and treated me very well for eating and sleeping, and he would not accept even a *quattrino*²⁵ in return.

If you wish to know the reasons why the said Father and other religious are so ignorant, you must know that the Most Serene Kings of Portugal, in their zeal for the extension and maintaining of our Holy Faith in the Indies, have ordained that none of their officers or sailors, who go to those parts and may

wish to embrace the Religious State, be in any way hindered from doing so ; and,—since it may be said with more truth of those Missions that *Messis multa, Operarii autem pauci*, in other words that, great as the harvest is, few are the Evangelical labourers,—in compliance with the above order, and to recruit a certain number of them, Missionaries of different Orders go on board the Portuguese ships, the moment they reach the harbour of Goa, and ask in a loud voice whether there is anyone who wishes to join their Institute. Now, among so many there is always someone or other who during the dangers of the voyage has made a vow to amend his life and embrace the Religious State, or who, disgusted with a life of hardships, /215/ wishes to enter Religion, perhaps in the hope of leading a more comfortable life ; and, as they who offer themselves are easily received, whoever they be, it happens that some are very ignorant, and others, which is worse, are little edifying ; and, as some of them, through the scandal they give to the New Christians and the Pagans, destroy sometimes all the good which many fervent and zealous Labourers have effected, this experience taught me to insert in our Rules that none of ours, whether a Member (*Congregato*), or a Student (*Collegiale*), should be trusted to be sent to those Missions, before having lived three years at least in Community and given proofs of the genuineness of his vocation and the purity of his doctrine. I thought it better that few should be sent, provided they be good, than many, even should there be but one of bad repute. I had rather that the Community should be burdened with the upkeep of those Students who are not yet endowed with all the qualities demanded by our rule, than to send them to those parts to the danger and harm of souls. And I wish that the Superiors of this our Sacred Family, to whom it belongs to choose and propose candidates to the Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, be always and for ever most careful in this matter.²⁶

After taking dinner with the said good Augustinian Father, I returned, I said, to Signor Bernabi's, and I settled and concluded the question of our embarkation. I found in his house a Jesuit Father²⁷, who took me to see the /216/ Church—a fine one—of those English Heretics²⁸, and the tombs of the same Heretics.²⁹ They are made in the shape of very neat little houses, and the Tamarind tree, which grows there, is so famous among the English that, when they return to London and speak of what

they have seen, they make a special mention of the Tamarind tree of Golicatan.³⁰

The seventh of the same month of February, after I had celebrated Holy Mass, and while I stood before the church, talking with a Franciscan Father³¹, I saw coming towards us from afar four Europeans, their dress being different from that of the Indians. When they came close, I recognised my four companions, whom I had left on board. When I left them, they were miserably lean, and two of them were at death's door, and here they came, so blooming and stout that I had never seen them so well during the whole of our voyage. I could never have imagined that breathing the land breeze and a diet of broth, cabbages, and suchlike vegetables boiled with goat, pork, and beef would in so short a time cure such a dangerous illness. To tell the truth, I was so surprised that I asked myself at first whether my eyes did not play the false, whether it was not some apparition : but no, it was they. Such is precisely the nature of scurvy that inhaling the land air and a diet of broth and fresh meat cooked with vegetables cures it.

I went with my companions to Signor Bernabi. Besides offering us breakfast, he invited us /217/ all to dinner, as also a Jesuit Father, to whom he gave for his amusement Monsieur Luillie's printed journey to Bengala.³² It was full of mistakes, he said, the author having written it without being well informed about the country. The same happened to me on my return from China. A relation of that vast Empire came into my hands, and, on reading it, both I and another, who had also been an Evangelical labourer in that Vineyard of the Lord, we could not help laughing at the great number of things which were so utterly beside the truth. Such mistakes happen, I believe, when the writer, who either has not remained long in a place or is not very experienced, writes down whatever he hears from ignorant or ill-informed persons, or when he copies other authors without distinguishing between what is correct and what is not. To avoid such a serious mistake, anyone who has not remained long enough in a place to be accurately informed, should follow the advice of writing only of what he has himself seen or ascertained from experienced and trustworthy people. And if there is question of affairs and controversies of greater moment, the advice given me in 1706 by the Abbate Pascoli, a former Apostolic Missionary in the Indies, was not to write of such matters before one has

learned the language of the country, and has become quite conversant with the things one wishes to write about. I followed his advice and had good reason /218/ to thank the Lord for it, because others who succumbed to a *pruritus scribendi*, when they had scarcely arrived in those Missions, were put to the shame of having to retract their own statements. As far as Signor Bernabi (*sic*) was concerned, it was not difficult for our two companions to obtain a berth on the same ship as ourselves. The difficulty came from the Captain, when he heard that we had with us as many trunkloads of second-hand books which we had bought very cheap from the London booksellers, books which must have belonged to libraries confiscated from Catholic Missionaries. His ship being already heavily loaded, the Captain could not take in more cargo ; so, we were obliged to travel in two ships : Fabri, Ceru, and Perrone in Bernabi's ship, Signor Amodei and myself in that of a Catholic Armenian, who for God's sake gave us also free board and passage. Both he and Signor Bernabi treated us much better all through the voyage than if we had paid them a big sum of money.

On the tenth, we went all five of us by the river to Sciantanagor³³, where the French have their Factory, and where many merchants reside. Here, as well as in the Factory of the Dutch, which is in another place, there are big pieces of artillery, and such is the enormous power of the Grand Seignior of the Great Mogol that this Grand Seignior does not resent it. The French Jesuit Fathers have a hospice and a church at Sciantanagor, and there were two Fathers³⁴ in charge ; there is also another hospice belonging to the Capuchin Fathers, Missionaries of the Sacred Congregation de /219/ Propaganda Fide, who reside there for the sake of their Mission in Tibet. Here, too, there were two Fathers, *viz.* Father Fra Felice da Motecchio and Father Fra Giovanni da Fano.³⁵ Signor Amodei and I stayed with the Capuchins, while the other three lodged with the Jesuits, who had invited them.

In the garden of the said Capuchins I saw for the first time on a tree a fruit which tickled my curiosity so much that I must describe it. It is called Giacca, or Taqua³⁶, as the Portuguese write it. The tree was of the size of a moderate oak and the fruit is of the size of a bag of middling size, about four palms long and proportionately thick, *viz.*, a little than two palms in diameter ; and because, if this fruit were to grow on the

branches like other fruits, the branches would certainly not be able to bear its weight, Nature has wisely ordained that it should grow on the trunk. In the Island of Zeilan, in Malacca, and other parts of the Indies, they say that it grows from the roots underground, and the Indians know that it is ripe when they smell at the foot of the tree an unwonted odour emanating from the fruit.³⁷ Those which hang from the trunk, they cut down when they have reached their proper consistency, and hang them up in their houses : and they know the fruit is ripe when it begins to emit a very sweet smell. Then, they make a cut into it, through which they pull out with their hand day after day a great quantity of yellow pods, which are very sweet, and each of them contains, like the /220/ date, a small nut which, when roasted has the taste of chestnuts.

What surprised me too, was the fig, both the tree and the fruit. The trunk of the tree, about twenty palms high by one palm, more or less, in diameter, is not ligneous, like that of other trees, but a mass of leaves, one within the other like an onion ; hence, it is so tender that it can easily be cut with a knife. This tree has no twigs ; it ends in the leaves, which around the top of the stem bend over in the shape of palm-leaves. These leaves are about four palms broad and very long, and they are not divided like those of the date-tree, but entire. It produces fruit only once, and as early as six months after having been planted ; and, as it is planted at all times, these excellent fruits can be had plentifully in the Indies all the year round. The fruit hangs down towards the ground from the top of the stem, and resembles a bunch of grapes, but one as much as three palms long and about a palm in diameter, while some grapes—a bunch has at times as many as a hundred—grow to the length of a palm or less, the girth being that of a middle-sized hen's egg. When the cluster has reached its proper consistency, they pluck it, hang it up in their houses, and take the grapes in proportion as they see them turn yellow, for they do not become yellow at the same time. To eat the fruit, you take away the rind, and eat the inner pulp together with some /221/ tender small black seeds, the taste being very good. The tree is cut down when it has given its fruit, and sprouts spring up in its stead, which are transplanted and yield a bunch each after six months. Among our European Christians in the Indies it is commonly said that our first parents, Adam and Eve, covered themselves with the leaves

of this tree in the earthly Paradise, one being enough to cover half of a man's body ; and it was a Heretical surgeon who first made me remark besides that, when the fruit is cut across, it shows the image of a Crucifix.³⁸

I was also particularly pleased to see and eat the ananas (*Ananasos*) : hence, I wish to describe also here this other Indian fruit. It is produced, not by a tree, but by a plant which resembles somewhat the aloe. It looks at first sight like a pine-cone, and that is why the Spaniards properly call it *Pinnas*. The smallest of these fruits is like a big pine-cone, and the biggest measure more than a palm in length and half a palm in diameter. When the green skin is removed with a knife, a yellow pulp appears, which is hard like that of an unripe apple, and has the smell of musk ; the taste, which is between sweet and sour, is very pleasant, especially when the slices have been steeped in water mixed with sugar. Even when still unripe, it can be preserved, and it is exported that way to Spain, where it is highly prized. Of its nature it is wholesome, but so hot that, if you leave /222/ a knife in it for a day only, they say it spoils and consumes it³⁹. I saw this plant, as also other Indian trees and their fruit, such as the coffee-tree in Vienna, where Prince Eugene, that great Hero of modern history, had imported them. I saw there too the coffee-tree with its fruit, all these trees being planted in a glass-house, where by means of stoves they imitated the hot climate of the Indies.

There is still another fruit, the Papaya. Having bought two of them, I thought at first they were melons of the kind which the Neapolitans call Turkish ; but, they differed in their seeds, which are like pepper. This plant, which I saw also in other places of the Indies which I visited, and again in Macao and Canton, produces fruit every month of the year, flowers and fruits yet unripe being found on it at the same time. The fruits are more fragrant than our melons, which they partly resemble in taste ; and they grow round the top of the tree's stem like dates.⁴⁰ On my return from China, I brought seeds with me, and planted them here. They grew four palms high, when, the winter supervening, they dried up, the trunk of the biggest tree of this kind being so tender that you could easily cut through it with a penknife. I do not speak of the other fruits, both because they do not deserve any special mention, and because I shall have to speak of some of them further.

The day after our arrival at Sciantanagor, we were invited all five of us to dine at the house of /223/ Monsieur the Director of the French Factory. He honoured us with three toasts, all three of which we drank to the firing of artillery. The first he proposed to the health of Cardinal de Tournon; the second to ours and the happy success of our Mission, and the third to a prosperous journey.⁴¹

On the thirteenth, the first day of Lent, my four companions left for Golicatan, while I went by the Ganges to Bandel, where I arrived after an hour and a half's journey. This is a small settlement, where in olden times a Portuguese Factory flourished. Christianity flourishes here now, and they told me generally that no Heretic is allowed to reside in it. Here there is a House of the Jesuit Fathers, with a fine Church⁴², which was taken care of by only one Father, viz., Federico Zech, a German, whom all esteem for his piety.⁴³ I heard the Portuguese sermon which he preached to the Native Christians, for nearly all in those parts know that language, though in a corrupt form. Next, I went to the Convent of the Augustinian Fathers. It was inhabited by six religious⁴⁴, whom I saw officiating in the Church in the same way as in Europe. The Church is also very pretty; it has a nave and two aisles (*tre navi*).

The same evening, I returned to Sciantanagor. As I was walking there one morning on the bank of the river, I noticed a large number of men, natives, who were bathing in it quite naked, and but a few paces away, within sight of the men, were a number of women, also quite naked, and occupied in the same function;⁴⁵ yet, the men did not look towards the women, nor did the women look at the men: /224/ on both sides they were busy washing themselves, without the slightest immodesty; but, when I praised it to the aforesaid Capuchin Father Felice, he explained the mystery to me and told me, what I still heard from others, that the Idolaters of the Great Mogol believe the water of the Ganges to be so holy that it has the virtue of purifying the soul from every stain of sin, while the body is being cleansed in it. And so there are many families which earn their livelihood simply by carrying inland for sale vases filled with this water. And, because the men and the women had contracted many faults during the previous night, they were washing themselves to be cleansed and absolved from them; hence their modesty during this action, lest they should sully their conscience again.

On the same occasion, I noticed among the bathers a man with a mirror in one hand and his face turned towards the sun. With the other hand he took water and threw it on different parts of his body as if in the form of a cross, and his lips moved as if he was saying some vocal prayers. This one, the same Capuchin told me, was a worshipper of the Sun, and with these ceremonies he was paying it a special worship.

In the whole Empire of the Great Mogol, of which Bengal is a Province, the three principal religions are : Idolatry, the most widespread of all, but divided into many, many sects ; /225/ Maomettism, the religion of that Grand Seignior and of the whole Government ; but, as they do not compel anyone to follow their religion, the number of Idolaters is greater, there being, as far as can be calculated, twenty Idolaters to one Maomettan ; finally, there is Christianity, mostly Catholic, which is scattered in various places.

It is well known that our Holy Faith was preached in those parts by the Apostle Saint Thomas, martyred at Meliapor on the Coromandel Coast. Then it deteriorated towards the sect of the infamous Nestorius, but was restored, on the advent of the Portuguese arms, by means of zealous Apostolic Missionaries, who in different places incessantly watered the soil with their sweat. The Portuguese were much helped in this holy undertaking by an ancient and constant tradition of a prophecy of the Apostle Saint Thomas, which had been left inscribed, for the remembrance of ages to come, on a stone-pillar erected not far from the walls of Meliapor. It said in the characters proper to the country that the Religion planted by him would flourish again when the sea, then forty miles away, would have reached this pillar, at which time there would be seen in those parts, white men from distant lands to restore the Religion preached by him. This was entirely verified when the Portuguese landed in the Indies.⁴⁶ The Missionaries converted not only a great number of the Nestorians, but an even greater number of Pagans, the Maomettan Government forbidding only /226/ that they should convert the Moors. It is their maxim that the faith of Maumet is better than that of Christ, but that our Holy Faith is better than that of the Idolaters. Accordingly, they esteem a Christian more than an Idolater. The English, the Dutch, and the Danes, wishing to imitate us Catholics, have imported into those parts their several kinds of preachers ; but the grace of God is not

with them, and their evil lives, being out of keeping with the teaching of Jesus Christ which they preach their Missionaries have achieved no result. The Idolaters, according to their different sects, have Temples, Priests, Prayers, and Idols. Among the countless errors, in which an infinite number of these benighted Idolaters live, is that of the transmigration of souls : this explains their special affection for all sorts of animals and insects, which they do not kill, nor eat the flesh of, but feed most carefully, to the extent of having hospitals for lice and fleas. People even pay a high price to let them with impunity suck their blood for some time. They are convinced, indeed, that after death their souls have to pass into the body of some animals more or less unclean, in proportion to the greater or smaller number of sins or good actions they have performed in life. They love and venerate, above all, rams (*montoni*) and cows, because they believe very foolishly that they supported the earth on their horns. and that a cow appeased the wrath of their Idol, Mahadeu, when he wished to destroy the Universe in punishment for the sins of /227/ men. Another fable of theirs is that after death they will have to pass a big river, and they will not be able to pass it unless they cling very strongly to the tail of some ram (*montone*) or cow. Accordingly, on rising from their bed in the morning just as we sign our forehead with holy water, so do they defile it with cowdung, and thus defiled they go about the whole day and transact their affairs. And just as we consider ourselves happy, if a priest of holy life assists us in our last moments, so do they consider it as the happiest omen, and a guarantee that they will be able to cross at once the fabulous stream, if in their agony they can have a cow near them and hold her by the tail. Should the animal void herself while they expire, they take it for the clearest sign of hoped-for bliss, assured that they will migrate into that very cow. On the death of the Idolater, this cow is kept and sumptuously fed, and the relatives of the deceased show her all the regard and give her all the tokens of esteem and affection which they would have given to the defunct himself, when he was alive. These superstitions in regard to these animals, in particular the cow, being so strong, when some of them are converted to our Holy Faith, the first trial the missionary makes of the sincerity of their conversion is to make them eat beef, to them a very hard and arduous trial, both on account of their natural repugnance to such food, and

because, if those of their sect come to hear of it, /228/ they abominate them as impure, and refuse to eat with them, or drink or converse with them. It was what I experienced with one of that Sect, whom the Lord deigned to convert through me; but I shall speak elsewhere of him and his heathen companion.⁴⁷

Some religious of that Sect take the resolution of becoming holy, and the people, in their ignorance of the dogmas of the true faith, fancy these men have reached the summit of perfection, when they have been seen to stand for a number of years determined by these religious—sometimes 14 years—exposed in the open air or under a tree to all the inclemencies of the weather. Day and night they will remain in the same place, either always standing, or always kneeling, or in some other posture: and I saw one who for years and years had kept his hands and arms always in the same posture, until his nails had become so large that they had grown into his arms, so that, through his own fault, he had become unable to open his hands and was obliged to have himself assisted in all his bodily wants. All the other penitents of that kind are likewise obliged to get themselves helped; and those consider themselves lucky who have a chance of ministering to them⁴⁸.../229/. On the death of one of these so-called Santones, the religious considers himself lucky who can get hold of a tuft of his hair; he coils it round his head, honours it as a relic, and struts about with it. As I was speaking one day with one of these religious, he boasted that he had on his head hair of sundry late Santones, and showing them to me he said: "This is the hair of such a Santone, and that of such another".⁴⁹

The Capuchin Father Era Giovanni da Fano related to me that there was at Sciantanagor, not very far from his place a woman who, aspiring also after this imaginary holiness, stood day and night in a thoroughfare with her hands raised towards the sky. Hearing of her and wishing to see her, he went, and approaching her from behind he judged that she could not naturally remain always motionless without help from the Devil. To find out the truth, he ordered in a low voice the evil spirit in the name of Jesus Christ to depart from her. Hardly had he uttered the injunction than the woman's arms dropped down, and she, looking round and seeing him, said in her language with an angry and threatening look: "Ah Devil, Devil!" The Father concluded from it /230/ that such penances are done with the

help of the common enemy, who lords it freely over those parts. By such devices does he keep in darkness those poor pagans redeemed, them too, by the most precious Blood of Jesus Christ ; by such devices does he drag them by thousands and thousands into the infernal pit. And that for want of zealous Evangelical labourers, while many here stand idle or carry but a very few sheaves compared with the vast harvest of the Indies. They shut their eyes, and without pity let so many souls perish daily ; they hide their talent, and yet flatter themselves that they will escape the judgment of our Blessed Lord, who clearly declares in Saint Matthew that *he reaps where he sowed not, and gathers where he has not strewed*.⁵⁰

I could say very many things about the many sects to be found in the Great Mogol, as also about the great size of their temples, about the manners of the natives, their diet, the variety of their dress, etc. ; but owing to the short time I spent in Bengala, I could not fully acquaint myself with these particulars : hence, not to expose myself to mistakes, I pass on.

To show still more the providence of God in our behalf, I must not omit to say that, all the time we were in Bengala, we did not spend a *quattrino* on food and lodging. Either we took dinner with those gentlemen who invited us, or we ate what a pious Chinese Christian Woman /231/ charitably sent us. As I said above, I returned from Bandel to the hospice of the Capuchins at Sciantanagor, and the evening of the seventeenth I embarked thence with the Armenian gentlemen who owned (*padroni*) the ship which was to take us to Manilla.⁵¹ I passed through Golicatan, and two days later the same Armenian gentlemen, Signor Amodei, and myself went down the Ganges in a small boat. We arrived in the morning at Poncicali⁵², where there was Bazar or market, and in the evening we arrived at Raspar, also called Giorg Curx.⁵³ Here too there was market, for markets are held very often in those parts, even daily, but now in one place, then in another. On the twenty-first, we arrived very early at Palta⁵⁴, where again there was market. Leaving this, we made a very short stage, as the river was slightly agitated, enough however to upset our Denghi or boat. Denghis being very low-sided. So, we lay at anchor the whole night along the bank of the river and the next morning, after a short journey, day-break found us with Signor Amodei on board the vessel which had to take us to Manilla. The vessel was called

the San Lorenzo and was very small.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, there were fifty passengers, twenty-seven of them infidels, viz., Maomettans and Idolaters ; among the latter were six young men and three boys, slaves purchased with a view of their being instructed and baptised ;⁵⁶ the other twenty-three were Catholic Romans, one of them being a Neapolitan sailor. The master (*padrone*) of the ship, one Constantino delle Toille⁵⁷, was a native /232/ of Persia, his father being a Frenchman, his mother Persian. He insisted that we should sleep in his cabin and share his table, and he was so kind to us that he was annoyed because we did not want to eat four times a day as he, but only twice, according to our Italian custom. While on land, we were obliged—such being the exigencies of the climate—to take breakfast every morning after Holy Mass, for everyone assured us that, if we kept fasting till dinner-time, we should get ill. At breakfast, we got not less than a chicken each,—they are exceedingly cheap there⁵⁸—and not less than a fowl apiece and other warm food at dinner. And, as these fowls are not very substantial, and are easily digested, we found that what they said was true, viz., that it all digested in no time and without trouble.

When I had got on the San Lorenzo, I doffed the secular garb in which I had travelled from Cologne, and put on my soutane, and I drew up a plan of campaign for the voyage up to the Philippine Islands. It was as follows : After my accustomed prayers, if the sea was not disturbed, to celebrate Holy Mass, which is done publicly near the aft mast, for the sake and profit of all those Christians : Teach the Christian Doctrine, morning and evening ; for, not only the young—among whom there were some Catechumens—but nearly all the sailors were utterly ignorant of it, even of the truths necessary for salvation : Give an eight days' Mission : /233/ Preach every feastday and bear the confessions of all at any hour of the day (very few of them had frequented the Sacraments ; many had never made their confession all their life, and the great number had lived estranged from the Sacraments for five, six years or more : this work of preparing and instructing them for a good confession was the most arduous work of all) : finally Recite in common the Holy Rosary and other prayers. All these exercises were conducted in the corrupt form of Portuguese known by almost all the Christians and many of the infidels of those parts. We, Italians, learn it very easily. Hence, anyone about to start for the Indies should

take with him Christian Doctrine, the instruction for Confession, and some other similar book in Portuguese to learn the language more easily and correctly.

From the twenty-fifth of February to the twenty-eighth, we travelled on the Ganges. On reaching finally the Ocean, the river-pilots returned to Bengala; we lost sight of the land, a strong favourable breeze sprang up, we weighed anchor,—not to cast it again along that coast,—and turned our course towards Malacca, from where we would pass to the Philippine Islands.

NOTES (By Fr. Hosten)

1. The Italian uses "*in Bengala*" in the title; "*a Bengala*" in the text here.
2. Golicatan is Calcutta. The origin of the word has not been satisfactorily accounted for yet "Gollicata" is another form which I find in a Portuguese letter of 1718. The English from the first wrote Calcutta; but all manner of spellings are found, even Golgotha.—Notice must have been sent to the English factor of Hugli from Balasore or, rather, from the mouth of the Hugli, by some of the smaller craft plying on the river. What is astonishing is the rapidity with which the news was communicated to Hugli and then to Calcutta. By midnight of February 3-4, the English officials arrived from Calcutta; yet, Ripa's ship had arrived at the Braces only on January 28, in the evening. It is also strange that the news of their arrival should have been sent to Hugli, considering that the English factory was reported as ruinous in December 1687, and the place was shortly after abandoned for "Chuttanuttee." The Calcutta factory must have been more important in 1709 than the Hugli one. "At a league from the Lodge (Chandernagor), there is a big town called Chin-churat where the Dutch and the English of the new Company have each a Comptoir, that of the Dutch is much finer than the English one". (*Voyage du Sieur Luillier*—in 1702—p. 65).
3. The piece or *real* of eight was considered equal to Rs. 2 in 1640. Calculations referring to 1679 make out the real of eight or current Spanish dollar to weigh $2 \frac{2}{5}$ of a new rupee, and to be worth only $2 \frac{1}{10}$. Cf. R. C. Temple, *Streynsham Master*, II, 303 note 1.
4. They started at midnight between February 3rd and February 4th. The place where the 3 English ships remained moored was

probably Kulpi. On February 1, they had got beyond the two sandbanks at the mouth of the river; they advanced six hours with the tide (on February, 2), lay at anchor during the night, and continued on the 3rd to "Bengalla".—"We ascended the river about sixty leagues. For the first twenty we passed through forest; then was revealed a fairly well populated country. The Europeans of different nationalities have fitted up various spots proper to receive the ships. The meeting of the rivers brings together in different places, a fair number of boats which serve for commerce. *Coulpy* is a fairly good anchoring place. The French and English ships usually stay here. The Dutch go up as high as *Folta* (Fulta), five leagues above. The one and the other, as well as the Danes and the Portuguese, when the season and the current permit, take their ships right up along-side their factories". Letter of Fr. Barbier, January 15, 1724, relating his journey to Bengal in 1712. Cf. *Bengal Past and Present*, 1910, or *Letter. Edif.* 1781, XIII. 267.

5. The places mentioned by Ripa as along the river on the return journey from Calcutta are Poncicali, Raspur or Giorg-Cruz, and Palta (Fulta). There was "bazar" at each place where they passed. Ripa adds. "Markets are held very often in those parts, even daily, but now in one place, then in another". Thus, Ripa's *bazar* may have been a fair.

6. In Italian, "V(estra) S(ignoria)". The Portuguese words would have been *Vossa Senhoria* or *Vossa Merce*, the latter being the common polite form of address.

7. The landing-place must have been far down the river, since it took Abbate Ripa about 8 hours' walking to get to old Fort William. At this landing-place so many ships, big and small, lay congregated that Ripa, when meeting with difficulties on his march to Calcutta, thought that, had he retraced his steps, he could not have found back Andrea's boat.

8. The only meaning for *Ciabi* which we can think of is *key-chabi*. The word is chiefly used in Bengal (Forbes's (*Hindust. Dict.*) and is probably derived from the Portuguese *chave*-key. But why should the fellow have shouted "*Chiabi*", and that in the open country? A ridiculous performance, indeed. I fancy the word for *Church* would have been *girja*, a corruption of the Portuguese *igreja*.

9. The sun sets at Calcutta at 5.39 on February 4.

10. The Portuguese word *Padre* was adopted very early by the

natives as a term of address for a European missionary. I have not met *Papa* used in this sense in India. Badaoni (Blochmann's *Ain*, I. 182) uses the word as applied to the Pope, in which sense, it meant originally *Father*. Perhaps the explanation is that *Papa* and *baba* are both used in Hindustani for "father, sir", though the latter means also *child* in Bengal (Forbes' *Hindust. Dict.*).

11. Capt. E. M. Thompson, I. A., the officer in charge of the Map Record and Issue Office, Survey of India, writes in answer to my enquiries (Aug. 13, 1913): "Maps in the Office do not show any ground of high eminence between this city and Diamond Harbour. If a hill or hillock did exist, it would be shown and it seems to me the more probable therefore that the "hill" referred to was merely high land which may have impressed your traveller with the idea that it was a hill.

"I have examined all the Heights of Bench marks along the river Hooghly between Kidderpore and Mud Point, but no indications of high land are shown. Fort Falta is measured along the bank as being 31-1 miles from Kidderpore and it would seem that in the vicinity of this Fort your traveller must have landed". I should think Ripa had disembarked somewhere about Budge-Budge.

12. Ripa seems to have had no difficulty in passing Tolly's Nullah. Probably, there was some sort of a bridge.

13. "The next morning," writes Luillier, who passed near Calcutta in 1702, "we passed by the English Factory belonging to the old Company, which they call Golconthe, and is a handsome building, to which they were adding stately warehouses". Cf. *Voyage du Sieur Luillier aux Gandres Indes*, Paris, 1705, p. 55. "The actual site of the fort was the ground now occupied by the General Post Office, the new Government Offices, the Custom House, and the East Indian Railway House. The warehouses built along the south side of the fort skirted Koila Ghat Street, The north side was in Fairlie Place. The east front looked out on Clive Street and Dalhousie Square, which in those days was known as the Lal Bagh, or the Park". Cf. C. R. Wilson, *Old Fort William in Bengal*, London, 1906, I. XX-XXI

14. The soldier who addressed Ripa was probably a Topas, or half-caste Portuguese in the English service.

15. The soldier said the distance from the Fort to the Augustinian Church was long, and Ripa repeats that it was a long trudge.

I cannot, however, understand that the Church should have been elsewhere than in Portuguese Church Street, Murghihata. I hope to discuss and prove this point some other day.

16. Read "myself" instead of "himself", as it is evidently a printing mistake.

17. Since there was a High Altar, the Church would seem to have had two side-aisles.

18. This part of the epistle of the Mass in honour of St. Agatha, Febr. 5. (I Cor. I. 26-30).

19. Good Hope?—Ripa had picked up very little English on the way.

20. Perhaps : la Cloche, a misreading by the editor of Ripa's *Storia*.

21. Probably : Barnaby. I have not come across his name, though I have searched a number of books on old Calcutta.

22. The Augustinian did not invite Ripa, a very hungry man, for *chhoti haziri* or breakfast! He invited him only for dinner.

23. Dinner appears then to have been taken at noon.

24. It would be too absurd to suppose that the Augustinian did not mean the Pope. Ripa seems to represent him as a bit too foolish. We may credit the old man with some facetiousness.

25. $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *soldo* or sou. "*A pice*" would be the local expression.

26. It may be doubted whether the Kings of Portugal ever issued orders favourable to the recruitment of Missionaries among the men of their fleet. It was rather the other way. On several occasions they made regulations to prevent their sailors and soldiers from deserting the ranks for Religion. In fact a large number of the men deserted; but comparatively few found their way into religious houses. There were too many other openings more congenial to them: trading on their own account, piracy, enlisting under native rulers, by whom they were specially valued as gunners or gun-founders, etc. Travellers' accounts teem with accusations like that of Ripa. What may have given rise to these accusations is that not unfrequently, during the voyage out, Missionaries gained over to their order and to missionary work in Asia young soldiers and sailors; so did they among the passengers. But, to represent the ships arriving at Goa as boarded by the agents of the different Orders, and calling, clamouring (*gritando*) for subjects to join their Institutes, would seem to be one of those exaggerations of Luillier's, against which Barnaby cautioned Ripa. Luillier writes: "(The Augustinian Religious of "Chin-

surat" Hugli) do not live with all the regularity possible, at which I am not surprised. For at Goa, when a ship comes from Europe, any one of the crew who wishes to become a Religious has but to present himself : however ignorant, he is received, without their examining whether he has the Religious Spirit, or not." (p. 65). There remains, however, the fact that Superiors of Orders were at times indiscreet in the selection of candidates presenting themselves in India, and that some Missionaries, living far away from the control of their Superiors and Bishops, fell below the mark of zeal and holiness demanded by their high vocation. At a later date we find 5 apostate priests in Calcutta. 27. This Jesuit Father was probably one of the two at Chander-nagore. Another Jesuit, Fr. Zech, was at Bandel.

28. This was the Church of St. Anne, which stood immediately outside the fort before the east curtain wall. It was built in the days of the Rotation Government (1704-1710) and consecrated on the Sunday after Ascension Day, June 5, 1709. Cf. C. R. Wilson, *Old Fort William*, I. XIX. It was just completing, therefore, when Ripa saw it. This Church was destroyed during the troubles of 1756, and was replaced by St. John's.

29. This cemetery is the churchyard of the present St. John's (Church of England) (*Ibid*, I. 69 n5 ; 223 n. 5). In 1702, a mud wall 4 cubits high was ordered to be built round it to prevent "the Hogs often breaking over the Ditch and other Inconveniencys" (I. 52). The ditches round it fell in during the rains (1711), and to case them with brick would have meant an "immence charge" (I: 87). The swamps in the neighbourhood were filled up in 1717 (I. 107). The great storm of September 30, 1737, damaged the walls round it (I. 150). In September 1757 the wall is again reported as being down in many places (II. 132). Finally, on November 28, 1766, it was proposed to remove it to a distant and convenient spot, (i.e., Park Street), II. 181.

Asiaticus published in 1803 nine inscriptions of persons who had been buried in the English Cemetery before 1709. Prominent in it was the mausoleum of Job Charnock, "the father of Calcutta," who died on January 10, 1693, and whose tomb is supposed to be the oldest piece of masonry now in Calcutta.

30. Capt. Alexander Hamilton wrote between 1688 and 1723 ; "Mr. Job Charnock being then the Company's Agent in Bengal, he had the liberty to settle an emporium in any part on the

river's side below Hooghly, and for the sake of a large shady tree chose that place, though he could not have chosen a more unhealthy place, on the river. . . ." In Tekchand Thakur (Piyari Chand Mitra)'s *Alaler gharer Dulal* (The spoilt Child of the house of Alal), written about 1854, we find (ch. 7) ; "Job Charnock was often passing and repassing by the palce of Bothukkhana ; there was an immense tree there, and, sitting at the foot of it, he would rest and smoke tobacco ; at that place many merchants would meet. He had so much affection for the shade of that tree that he resolved to fix his factory there". (I am indebted for this quotation to the Rev. Fr. A. Durier of Chandernagar).

The tree at *Baithakhana*—I take this to be the correct spelling—was a peepul-tree. It stood at the junction of Bow Bazar Street and Lower Circular Road, and "was removed by the Marquess of Hastings in 1820, in pursuance of his schemes for the improvement of the city, but not without lament and prophecy of evil from the superstitious". (Cf. H. E. A. Cotton, *Calcutta Old and New*, Calcutta, 1907, p. 9, and also Raja Binaya Krishna Deb, *The Early Hist. and Growth of Calcutta*, 1905, p. 65).

I should think that the peepul-tree at *Baithakhana* was not the one which Charnock was so much taken up with. 1st. Could the famous peepul-tree of 1820 have been a conspicuous landmark from the river in 1690 ? 2ndly. Why should Charnock have gone to the very end of the town to smoke his hookah, when close to the factory there was such a marvellous tree ? 3rdly. The marvellous tree which was so much spoken of in 1709, even in London, was not a peepul-tree, but a tamarind-tree. It stood in the English Cemetery. Was it not, perhaps, deference for Charnock's hobby which marked it as a fitting last resting-place for him ? We cannot help thinking that the present tradition is inaccurate. It would embody still the fact of Charnock's predilection for a particular tree ; but, after its disappearance, tradition may easily have shifted the scene of Charnock's day-dreams to another wonderful tree.

31. Apparently one of the two at Chandernagar. Cf. *infra*.

32. *Voyage du Sieur Luillier aux Grandes Indes* (1702), Paris, 1705, 12,—There is an English translation of 1715. Luillier came out to Bengal with a cousin of his, Melle Francoise Moisy, who was engaged to be married to the Director of the French factory, M. Pierre Dulivier. (Cf. Irvine, *Storia de Mogor*, IV, 78 n).

In the Marriage Registers at the Mairie, Chandernagar, we find that G. Luillier was one of the witnesses at the marriage of Pierre Dulivier with Francoise Moisy (Sept. 11, 1702). Dulivier was from Bayonne; "Francoise Moisy, born at London, and heretofore residing at Tours, Parish of St. Pierre du Brice, daughter of Nicolas Moisy, a merchant for the Royal Co. of France, and dame Catherine Luillier, both at present of this parish (Notre Dame du Salut)....". The marriage was solemnised by Father Quencin, S. J.

33. Chandernagore.

34. One of the two Jesuits must have been Fr. Gervais Papin. Born at le Mans, September 12, 1656; admitted March 9, 1689; after his studies left for India with Father Tachard ('95); at Pondicherry ('97-98); in Bengal ('99-1700); still there in 1701-04; at Chandernagar in 1703; we have letters from him dated Chandernagar, December 18, 1709, and 1711 (*Letter. Edif.* 1781, XI. 253-261, 261-269); died, January 3, 1712. Cf. Sommervogel, *Bibl. de la C. de J.*, VI, 185; W. Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, IV, 146 n. 2.

The second Jesuit was most likely Fr. Vautrin Baudre: born at Saint Mihiel, December 17, 1666; admitted into the Society, October 16, '86; arrived in India in 1702; a letter from Pondicherry, September 30, 1703 (*Letter. Edif.*, 1781, X. 336) says he is in Bengal with Frs. Quencin and Papin; there are letters of his from Chandernagore of Jan. 4, and Dec. 5, 1712[±] in 1715. Cf. Sommervogel, *op. cit.*, I 1050; VIII. 1779). I modify some of Sommervogel's dates. Baudre was a mathematician and astronomer. "I found in Bengal", wrote Father Duchamp in 1732, "several astronomical methods; these are drawn up by Father Baudre; but, a part has been lost and the other is not always exact".

No names of Jesuit priests, nor mention of any marriage appears in the oldest Marriage Register of Chandernagore under 1709. Fr. Baudre appears as Cure in 1708, and 1711-14. The marriage register consists merely of extracts made in Paris (1837) from the original registers. I have not at hand my notes on the Baptismal Registers.

35. The hospice of the Capuchins is now the Convent of the Immaculate Conception. Near it, the gate of the Chapel of Our Lady of Loreto bears the date 1720, not 1726, as *Asiaticus* (1803, Pt. II p. 41) has it. The S. C. de Propaganda Fide on Dec. 14,

1720, granted to the Capuchins of Chandernagor to say on Dec. 10 in the Church of their Hospice the Office and Mass proper for the Translation of the Holy House of Loreto. Other priests visiting the Chapel were allowed to say the Mass proper to the Feast. Cf. *Bullar. Patron. Portug. Regum*, Olisipone, II, 1873, p. 192.

Some Capuchins had arrived at Chandernagore in 1706. On July 19, 1707, some of them reached Lhasa. Fr. Felice da Montechchio arrived at Chandernagore in 1706, and remained there with Br. Fiacre of Paris as Procurator of the Mission. It is probably he who opened the Mission of Patna in 1706. Fr. Giovanni da Fano reached Lhasa in 1711. Fr. Felix, O.C., Lahore Mission, has collected ample materials on all the Capuchins of the Tibet Mission.

Some of the Capuchins who died at Chandernagore were probably buried in the Chapel of their hospice. But, I have found in the Burial Registers of the Mairie, which go back to Sept. 2, 1770, that between 1773 and 1818 the Capuchins as well as several other priests—11 in number—were buried in the mortuary chapel of the public cemetery, or at the foot of the Cross which stood there formerly. Fathers Joseph Francois († Oct. 15, 1785) and Julien († May 13, 1805) both Capuchins, were buried in the mortuary Chapel in the cemetery. No inscription was erected to any of them. Such was the practice too in our other Churches in Bengal, because the clergy were buried in a common grave. This may explain why not a single grave of the Jesuits who died at Chandernagore can now be traced. Elsewhere in Bengal, however, *e.g.*, at Bandel and at our Murghihata Cathedral, the practice was to bury clergymen in the churches, as also a surprisingly large number of the laity.

Mme Marie-Jeanne-Francoise-Xavier Renault, widow of Sieur Jean-Baptiste-Edesse(?)—Hubert Chambon, aged 76 years, was buried in the Chapel of O. L. of Loretto at the Hospice on August 28, 1811.

None of the Nuns remembers to have seen in the Chapel any inscription to the memory of Capuchin priests. But, some remember that in the portico before the Chapel there were 3 stones, one of which, between the two pillars on the Gospel side, bore an Armenian inscription. One of the Nuns says that at the same spot one of the stones (about 7' x 4') had the name of one Pere de la Tour, who she thinks was a Capuchin. The only approxi-

mate name I can think of is that of Pere Francois Marie de Tours. He arrived at Chandernagore in 1706, reached Lhasa in 1707, where he stayed 5 months, according to one account, or till 1712, according to another. Different authorities place his death at Patna, Singhia and Pondicherry. He had been in Persia and at Surat, where he composed his *Thesaurus linguae Indianae*.

Father Felix, O. C., writes from Maryabad, Gujranwala District, Punjab (June 7, 1914) : "I can state on the best authority I have that Father Francis de Tours died at Pondicherry, and he certainly died before 1720, when the new Church of Chandernagore (the Chapel of the Capuchin Hospice) was built and completed. I know of no other Capuchin Father de Tours (or de la Tour) who ever was in that station.

There was also a tomb with a stone near the holy-water stoup, at the entrance, on the left ; whether it had an inscription cannot be remembered. Finally, a stone without inscription marked the tomb of Sister Maria MacMahon, in the centre of the Chapel, 7 paces from the communion rails. All these stones were covered some 20 years ago, when the Chapel was cemented. The archaeologist must regret it.

36. *Taqua* is an evident misprint for *Jaqua*, *Iaqua*.

37. Hwen T'sang (c. A. D. 650) already says of the jack-fruits in Bengal that they grow sometimes from the roots, like the *fo-ling* (*Radix Chinae*), which is found under the ground. Friar Jordanus wrote in the same way (c. 1328) that the fruits grow down to the very roots. So too Nicolo de' Conti (c. 1440) : "Sometimes the fruit is also found growing from the roots of the tree underground, and these fruits excel the others in flavour, wherefore they are sent to Kings and petty princes. These (moreover) have no kernels inside them". Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. jack.

38. Yule would have called this an admirable description of the plantain-tree (*Musa sapientum*). The *Musa paradisiaca* is the banana, though it is hard to understand where the difference between plantain and banana is supposed to be drawn. "The specific name *paradisiaca* is derived from the old belief of Oriental Christians (entertained also, if not originated, by the Mahomedans) that this was the tree from whose leaves Adam and Eve made themselves aprons. A further mystical interest attached also to the fruit, which some believed to be the forbidden apple of Eden. For in the pattern formed by the core of seeds, when the fruit

was cut across, our forefathers discerned an image of the Cross, or even of the Crucifix. Medieval travellers generally call the fruit either *Musa*, or 'Fig of Paradise' or sometimes 'Fig of India'. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. plantain. Gul. de Boltensele (1336), John de' Marignoli (c. 1350) and Simone Sigoli (1384) are quoted as speaking of the image of the *Crucifix*. "In this fruit", writes the latter, "you see a very great miracle, for when you divide it any way, whether lengthways or across, or cut it as you will, you shall see inside, as it were, the image of the Crucifix; and of this we comrades many times made proof". I succeeded only when cutting the fruit across, and found a cross rather than a crucifix.

39. Jahangir states that the fruit came from the sea-ports in the possession of the Portuguese. It was introduced from America. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v., pine-apple. The Spanish word for it was *pina*, from its resemblance to a pine-cone.

40. According to van Linschoten, the papaya was introduced into India from the Philippines *via* Malacca.

41. Pierre Dulivier was the Director or Chief at Chandernagore between 1701 and 1706. He was replaced in 1708 by Sieur Francois de Flacourt, who had married the daughter of a Dutch preacher of Utrecht. Cf. W. Irvine, *Storia do Mogor* by Manucci, IV, 76 n. 1; 215 n. 2.

Luillier relates the marriage of his cousin with Monsieur Dulivier on September 11, 1702. It was marked by salvos of artillery and musketry at daybreak, at the first Gospel, at the Consecration, at the last Gospel. The Mass was "in music". At the banquet, every toast was announced by a salvo from the guns. *Op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

42. The name San Paolo clings still to a garden some distance N. W. of Bandel Church, and marks that it was once tenanted by Paulists or Jesuits. The Church was dedicated to Our Lady's Nativity. Already in Fr. Tieffentaller's time (1765) it was nearly completely ruined. It may be noted that Ripa mentions no *College* at Hugli, but only a House and Church. I urged the Archaeological Department in 1911 to undertake some excavations on the site in the hope of discovering the grave of Bishop Laynez, but was told that they could not afford any financial help. The object, though worthy in itself, was too remote from the subject of Indian Archaeology as such! Is Christian archaeology no part of Indian archaeology? In January 1914, I uncovered

part of the foundations of the walls of what was either the House or Church of the Jesuits of Hugli.

43. Zech (Czech) Frederic, a German, born at Munchen (Bavaria) in 1678 (elsewhere : Prague, March 22, 1667 ; Breithenfurth, Silesia ; Breslau, Bracten) ; came to India in 1699 ; in 1699-1700, Fishery Coast, studies Tamil ; 1701, Rameswaram ; 1705-11, Rector in Bengal ; made his profession at Ugulim (Hugli) in 1710 ; we have letters from him dated Ugulim, Nov. 16, 1705, Nov. 22, 1709, and 1710 ; 1718-22, Rector of St. Thome ; 1722, Rector in Bengal ; † about 1729. Cf. *App. ad. Catal. Miss. Madurensis pro anno* 1912, p. 53 ; Huonder, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionare* ; Franco, *Synopsis Annal Prov. Portug. S. J.* ; Sommervogel, *Bibl. de la C de J.*, III and IX, 1762.

43. A rather large number for the Catholics left Hugli. Perhaps, some of the priests has come from elsewhere, e.g., from Chin-surah, for the ceremonies of Ash-Wednesday.

44. It is the present Church of Bandel.

45. We may say without fear of mistake that Ripa is wrong here. Probably, he saw the bathers waist-deep in the water and he concluded that they were *Del tutto ignudi*.

46. We refrain from commenting on these Mailapur traditions about the distance of the town from the sea, and the purport of the inscription found. Let it suffice to say that the inscription in Pehlvi characters found at Mailapur in the first half of the XVIth century was erroneously explained until Burnell and others explained it. Cf. Mgr. Medlycott's, *India and the Apostle St. Thomas*, London, 1905. H. E. Mgr. L. M. Zaleski has published at Mangalore, Codiabail Press, *The Apostle St. Thomas, History, Tradition and Legend*, 1912.

47. One of the two converts—the only one whose story I have found—proved a failure. He was a native sailor from the Coromandel Coast whom Ripa met at Malacca in June 1709. He instructed him, cut his tuft of hair, and made him break his caste by eating beef. At Manilla, the man got drunk. Between Manilla and Macao he behaved all right, but got drunk again the moment he landed at Macao. Ripa had so far postponed his baptism, in the hope of curing him first of the passion for drink. Judge of his surprise when, during the Easter-time of 1710, the man turned up one day saying in high glee that he was a Christian ; he had gone to Confession and H. Communion, and proudly showed his ticket of Confession. "Where and by whom were

you baptised"—"By yourself, Senhor Padre. Didn't you speak to me repeatedly of the Baptism of desire?" Cf. *Storia*, I. 270-273.

48. "Ed hanno que' ciechi gentili tanta fede in questi creduti Santoni, che le sterili sono persuase poter felicemente concepire col solo prestar loro certi officj, che l' onesta vuole taciuti : e quando questi han teriminato il tempo stabilito dell' intrapresa penitenza, e credesi essere gia arrivati alla perfezione, si stima felice quella casa, nella quale entra, e quella donna /229/ che possa secondare le sue brutte voglie ; tanto che mi dissero varie persone degne di fede aver veduto in un tempio, cosa degna di eterna memoria, dipinta in un letto una figlia di un gran signore, sposata con un Principe suo pari in atto che veniva stuprata da uno di que' creduti santoni."

49. In spite of exaggerations and misconceptions, Ripa's excursion into the beliefs of Hinduism is not so extravagant as might be thought. The absurdity is rather in the beliefs and practices he describes.

50. Matth. XXV. 24.

51. One of the Armenian gentlemen who travelled to Malacca in the *Santa Croce* was Giovanni Isacar or d'Isacar (cf. pp. 237, 249). He was the chief man in the little fleet of 4 ships going to the Philippines. He had the largest share in the concern, and was styled "the Admiral". Ripa went with him to see the Dutch Governor of Malacca, Pieter Roselar (Rooselaer?) and presented to him a letter from the Dutch Director of "Cinciura" of Hugli.

Sir Richard Temple in his *Geographical Account of Countries round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679* by Thom. Bowrey, Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, 1905, p. 172, note 3, traces the history of one or more ships by the name of *Santa Cruz* between 1676 and 1718. In 1676, T. Bowrey navigated a *Santa Cruz* belonging to Portuguese traders. Before 1685, a *Santa Cruz* belonged to Joseph, brother of the rich Armenian John Demarcora. There was a *Santa Cruze* at Calcutta in 1697. In 1702, a "ship *Santa Cruze* David Marcus Commander arrived from Manilha".

52. Poncicali is probably *Pisacoli* of de Barros' map (c. 1540). C. R. Wilson (*Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, I, map facing p. 130) places it on the East bank about half way between

Ulubaria and Hugli Point, while Pacuculi appears on the same side above Ulubaria.

H. Blochmann (*Contributions to the Geogr. and Hist. of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1873, p. 23) says Penchakuli is the name of the district opposite the present mouth of the Damodar, or a little above the northern limit of the Sundarban. It appears as Pisacolij on the West bank of the Hugli in de Blaeuw's map (1650). Cf. the reproduction in Blochmann's article. De Blaeuw, however, copies this name, as also Pacuculij, higher on the Eastern bank, from de Barros' map of 1540. De Barros writes Pisacolij and Pacucoliji. Cf. *Da Asia*, Decada IV, Pt. II, Lisbon, 1777, p. 450.

53. Giorg. Cruz is perhaps = Jorge da Cruz. In 1632, the Portuguese had gardens and property all along the river.

Raspar occurs in the form *Raspas* on the right or W. Bank of the Hugli in T. Bowrey's map of the Hugli (1687). Cf. *Op. cit. supra*. It is marked on the river next below the John Pardo river. This is the only map or book where I have succeeded, after not a little research, to find the name.

54. Fulta, perhaps equivalent with *Pisolta* of de Barros' map.

55. Three other ships seem to have travelled with the *San Lorenzo*, viz. the *Santa Croce* (p. 234), the *Buon Successo* and the *Sant' Ignazio* (p. 243). Between Malacca and Manilla, Ripa travelled on the *Nostra Signora di Codalup*, Captain Signor D. Cristoforo Bassurto, a Spaniard (p. 252).

56. A shabby excuse put forward by Christian masters to justify their inhuman practice of slave-dealing. The Dutch, the French, the English, not less than the Portuguese, dealt in slaves. Bengal furnished thousands of eunuchs to the harems of Muhammadan Grandees, and it was the favourite hunting-ground for slaves, to both the Europeans and the Mughls of Arakan. The Portuguese slave-raiders of Chittagong and Arakan boasted in 1630 that they made more Christians in one year than all the Missionaries of India in ten.

57. de l' Estoile. One Gregory Boutet, private merchant, was witness at a marriage at Chandernagore on Febr. 7, 1707, and on July 25, 1707; *do.*, one *Constantin* de l' Estoile on Oct. 29, 1715; *do.*, one de l' Estoile on Febr. 2, 1721. The names Boutet and de l' Estoile occur still in other places of the Chandernagore Marriage Registers, but I did not find them in conjunction.

On September 10, 1704, Gregoire Bouttet bought for Rs. 1010 from a Portuguese ship-captain with the impossible name of Sieur Louis Yamada de Acha Ribeiro the ship *La Divine Providence* and her appurtenances ; freight : 2,500 mans. Cf. *Bengal Past & Present*, 1911, p. 175.

I find in *Estat de la Perse en 1660 par le P. Raphael du Mans* edited by Ch. Schefer, Paris, 1890, some interesting information on Constantine's father (?), Sieur Isaac Botet de Lestoille, a French merchant at Ispahan, de Lalain and de la Boullaye le Gouz lodged with him on their arrival at Ispahan, Nov. 13, 1665 and gave him a letter in which he was styled first Chamberlain of the Shah of Persia and invited to offer his services to the French delegates (p. L. n. 2). He gave them the money necessary for an outfit becoming their station and the Shah before whom they were to appear (p. 307). His eldest son, Louis, acted as interpreter to la Boullaye, Beber and Dupont on their journey to Bandar Abbas (Nov. 16, 1665). Cf. p. LIV. Writing to Monseigneur de Lionne (Ispahan, Dec. 18, 1665), Isaac Botet de Lestoille says of his son : "Je leur ay praisente mon fils aine que ils ont asepte en callite d' intraipraître . . . Sy je n' avois veu que il est autant capable que aucum autre de soutenir cette charge et rendre se service je ne l'orais jamais engage ; mois je say que il a beaucoup de connoissense du commerce et parle tray bien les lengue comme francoise, persienne turquesque et armainienne et indienne. J'ai toujours elleve mais enfans dans les sentiment d'ung veritable fransois et s' est bien avec plaisir que je les voy plus fortemant atache a la France pour ung sy beau suget." (p. 308). Fr. Ange de St. Joseph (de la Brosse), a Discalced Carmelite from Toulouse, states in his *Pharmacopoea Persica* (1681) that Isaac died aged 70 years after abjuring Calvinism, and that his sons and daughters had been brought up in the Catholic faith. One of his daughters married Ishaq Khan, son of Zeno, the interpreter to the English Company (p. CIII). This Ishaq Khan appears then to be the same as Ripa's Giovanni Isacar or d' Isacar (Isa Khan?). (Cf. *supra*, p. 231, n. 2).

58. "And for a Roupy, which is about half a Crown, you may have (in Bengal) 20 good Pullets and more ; Geese and Ducks in proportion". Bernier (1666). Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Rupee.

APPENDIX

MEMOIRS OF FATHER RIPA during 13 years' residence at the Court of Peking in the service of the Emperor of China; with an account of the Foundation of the College for the Education of young Chinese at Naples. Selected and translated from the Italian by Fortunato Prandi, London, John Murray, 1844, pp. 1-160, 4to.

Chapter V. The Mouth of the Ganges—Ignorance of a Monk—recruiting Missionaries—Advice to Authors—Sun-worshippers—St. Thomas's prophecy—The Transmigration of Souls—A Woman Exorcised. (pp. 25-29).

/25/ On the 1st of February we at last entered the mouth of the Ganges, amid general exultation. In ascending the river, my companions being still laid up with the scurvy, I one day stood alone in a corner of the vessel reading my breviary, which from prudential motives was bound in white, and looked exactly like a common book. While thus employed, I suddenly heard a voice close by, inquiring in Portuguese whether I was a priest. I turned round, and on seeing an Indian youth, about fifteen years of age, who had come to meet us with other merchants from Calcutta, I reproved him in a severe tone. Perceiving that I was afraid to discover myself, he told me that he was a Catholic: in proof which he crossed himself and then eagerly proffered his services. It was by no accident that this youth found me out. He was sent to us by Divine Providence, which perceived that, being perfectly friendless in that country, with shattered health and exhausted funds, we could not have reached our destination without an act of its special assistance. Having learned from this young man that the Augustines, for whom we had a letter from the General of the Order, had a house in the neighbourhood, I proceeded thither as soon as we arrived at Calcutta, leaving my companions behind. On reaching their abode, I was introduced to an old monk, who was deaf, and ignorant in the extreme; but a good sort of man withal. He took my letter and affected to read it; but as he had no knowledge of Latin, he could make nothing of it. Being desirous to know the name and surname of the Father-General, he turned to me, giving himself an air as though he had understood the whole, and point-

ing at the signature, he said, "what villainous writing ! pray decipher this signature for me". When he had heard the name and surname of the Father-General, he betrayed his ignorance still more, by asking me whether he was the Father-General, or the Father-General in Chief ; and I, adapting my words to his ignorance, assured him that it was actually the Father-General in Chief, whereat he expressed himself greatly pleased. He afterwards inquired whether I was really sent by St. Peter, and on being answered in the affirmative, he conceived a great opinion of me, and did all in his power to forward my wishes.

As the reader will no doubt be surprised at the ignorance of this monk, I will tell him how such things come to pass. The Most Serene Kings of Portugal being very anxious to maintain and extend our Holy faith in these regions, decreed that all their officers and sailors who on passing thither might feel disposed to take holy orders, should be allowed to follow their inclination without any impediment. The harvest being abundant and the reapers scarce, when a Portuguese vessel arrives at Goa, the missionaries of different religious orders go on board and call out aloud whether there is any one who will join them. Among such numbers there is always some one, who having in a moment of danger vowed to reform, or hoping to live more comfortably, answers the call ; and thus many of those missionaries are very ignorant, and some of them very vicious, which is still worse ; so that, far from contributing to the propagation of our Holy religion, they do exactly the reverse, by bringing it into contempt.

A few days afterwards we were invited to dine with Mr. Barneby, an Irish gentleman, who with great generosity had granted us three places gratis on board a ship which he was freighting for Manilla. Among various things that he did for our entertainment, he produced Leuilles' work on Bengal, and pointed out a great number of ludicrous blunders with which that book abounds. Many years afterwards I enjoyed together with several of my fellow-missionaries a similar amusement, in picking out the absurd statements inserted in a certain "Account of the Chinese Empire". Authors are thus liable to ridicule or blame, if, when writing without a due knowledge of the subject of which they treat, they adopt indiscriminately all they hear. I therefore always warn my juniors never to attempt any thing of the kind before they have lived in a country long enough to /27/ understand it fully, or can at least obtain their information from

persons who are at once enlightened and trustworthy : and in the event of their being called upon to take part in some important transaction or controversy, I recommend them to make themselves masters of the language of the country, and to take every possible precaution against erroneous impressions.

One morning as I walked beside the Ganges, I observed a considerable number of men and women bathing promiscuously, but with edifying behaviour ; and among them I saw a man who held a looking-glass in one of his hands, turning his face towards the sun, whilst with the other hand he threw the water upon his body, describing signs much like the cross, and moving his lips as though he had been praying. On inquiry, I was informed that this man was worshipping the sun, and that the others were also idolaters, who bathed in the Ganges because they believed that the waters of that river possessed the miraculous power of cleansing them from their sins.

It is well known that St. Thomas the Apostle preached the Christian religion in these parts ; and that he afterwards suffered martyrdom at Meliapor, on the coast of Coromandel. The true faith was afterwards polluted and overpowered by the sect of the Nestorians ; but upon the arrival of the Portuguese, it was restored by the labour of zealous missionaries. The Portuguese were greatly helped and encouraged in this holy work by an ancient prophecy, left by St. Thomas, and engraved upon a stone column near Meliapor, and not far from the sea. This prophecy is written in the language of the country, and imports that the "religion which he had planted would flourish again, when the sea, then forty miles distant, would reach that column ; at which time white men would come into these parts from a distant country". All this appears to have been fulfilled by the arrival of the Portuguese in India.

The missionaries reclaimed a great number of the Nestorians, and converted a still greater number of the pagans : the Mahomedan government only forbidding attempts to convert those of its own persuasion ; it being its maxim, that no religion could be better than that of Mahomed, but that Christianity was better than idolatry.

In imitation of the Catholics, the English, the Dutch, and the /28/ Danes have sent many of their preachers into these countries ; but the grace of God was not with them ; and this, together with their bad conduct, which so ill accorded with what they

preached, prevented them from producing any good effect. Every sect of idolaters has here its temples, priests, sacrifices, ceremonies, and idols. Among the numerous errors in which these blind heathen multitudes live, a principal one is the doctrine of transmigration of souls. They are therefore very kind to all sorts of animals and insects, which they neither kill nor eat ; but on the contrary feed them, and attend on them with great care. To such a pitch do they carry this belief, that they have hospitals for lice and fleas, and pay liberally by the hour those who will allow the insects to feed on their blood. They do this in the persuasion that after death their souls will pass into the bodies of some animals more or less loathsome, according to the good or evil actions of their past life. Above all things they highly esteem and venerate sheep and cows, from a foolish belief that they once sustained the earth upon their horns, and that a cow pacified the anger of their idol, Mahadeu, when he had resolved to destroy the universe for the sins of men ; and also because after death a great river must be passed, which can only be done by holding fast to the tail of a sheep or cow.

Influenced by this superstition, upon rising in the morning, just as we cross our foreheads with holy water, so do they soil their with the dung of a cow ; and thus disfigured, they walk out and transact their daily business. When we are at the point of death, we feel satisfied if we can procure the assistance of an ecclesiastic of known piety : these people on the contrary are happy if in their last moments they can lay hold of the tail of a cow, believing that they shall thus easily pass over the great river. If while they are expiring the cow happens to discharge the contents of her stomach, this circumstance is considered as an omen of their future felicity, because they suppose that it is owing to their soul being about to migrate into the body of the cow. After the death of the poor idolater, the cow is well kept, and treated with the same attention that would have been paid to the man himself had he lived. Such being the veneration they have for these animals, and particularly for the cow, when any one is converted to the Christian faith, the missionaries /29/ always test his sincerity by obliging him to eat cow's flesh, after which his former heathen associates look upon him with horror, and will neither eat, drink, nor converse with him.

Some of the more strict of this sect form the resolution of becoming saints, and those people, in their blind ignorance of

the true faith, believe that they have attained the highest point of perfection when they have passed a certain number of years in the same spot, constantly exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, and remaining always in the same posture. I myself saw one of these saints, falsely so called, who had for many years held his hands in one position, and whose nails had grown a hideous length and penetrated into his arm, so that he could not open his hands, and was waited on by others in all the necessities of nature; indeed, all these penitents are thus waited on, and those who can render them any service esteem it fortunate as securing their own future happiness.

I was informed by Father Giovanni De Fano, that having heard of a woman who, aspiring to this imaginary sanctity, was then standing night and day in the same place, with her hands raised towards the heavens, he felt a great curiosity to see her. Being persuaded that she could not thus stand always immoveable without the assistance of the Evil one, he went close behind her, and in a low voice he commanded the malignant spirits to depart from the woman. Immediately, upon this her arms dropped, and she turned round angrily, exclaiming in her own language, "Ah, demon! demon!" It was thus clearly proved that such arts as these could only be performed through the instrumentality of the great enemy of mankind, whose reign in those regions is supreme.

* *

Chapter VI. /30/ I might relate a great more respecting Bengal, but as my sojourn in this country was very short, I think it best to omit doing so, lest I should state anything inaccurate. On the 22nd of February we set out for Manilla, in the ship San Lorenzo, which, though very small, had fifty passengers on board, twenty-three of whom were Catholics....

JOHN BURNELL

There were two John Burnells in the East India Company's service in India before 1714; one the author of the 'Adventures of a person unknown who came to Calcutta in the Government of Mr. Russell and went to the Moors then fighting at Hughley' (Orme Manuscripts, Vol. IX, pp. 2159-2174) and the other, who had gone to India as a factor some years before 1655. The latter was brother of Thomas Burnell, one of the Court of Committees or Directors from 1633 to 1657, and was Chief of the Company's factory at Lucknow. He was dismissed from service for his debts. He proceeded to Madras. (Court Books, Vol. XV-XXXIV). John Burnell, our author, came to India in 1695/6 without the permission of the Company. These two Burnells were not one and the same person as our author, who must then have been at least 75 years, was unlikely to find a centenarian father to receive his 'Adventures' as well as his two earlier letters from Bombay in 1710 & 1711. Burnell's two letters about Bombay as well his Adventures have been published in a book entitled *Bombay in the Days of Queen Anne: Being an Account of the Settlement written by John Burnell* (Hakluyt Society, London, 1933). There is an introduction to Burnell's Account of Bombay from Samuel T. Sheppard. Similarly, Burnell's Narrative of his Adventures in Bengal is introduced by Sir William Foster. Burnell's 'Adventures' in Bengal was originally published by Sir Evan Cotton in *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 113-131. This was copied from the Orme MSS by Miss L. M. Anstey. The notes of Sir Evan Cotton as published in *Bengal Past & Present* referred to above are retained in the pages that follow, as they have been pruned considerably in the Hakluyt Society edition of 1933. The following biographical sketch of John Burnell is taken from *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. XXXIV (1927), July-Sept., pp. 38-39. The introduction of Sheppard to the Hakluyt Society edition does not contain any fresh light on our author.

John Burnell first appears as an ensign in the Company's Service at Bombay, from which place he wrote at least a part of

the "Account" of the island in letters to his father, of which the first is dated May 12, 1710. A year later, on April 6, 1711, he resigned his commission and "the charge of Dungaree Fort", and was permitted to return to Europe in the *Tankerville* (Bombay Public Proceedings, Vol. IV).

The ship sailed in May, 1711, but owing to bad weather did not continue her voyage and eventually made her way to Madras. Here Burnell offered his services and was "entertained" as an ensign on the military establishment at Fort St. George, as being "a person well skill'd in drawing and has some knowledge in fortification" (Madras Public Proceedings, Vol. LXXXV). He did not, however, long retain the good opinion formed of him, for at a consultation held on May 27, 1712 (ibid) he was discharged from the service, "having been guilty of several disorders such as intemperate drinking, abusing the Freemen (free merchants) and company's servants, and disobedience to his Superior Officers".

Burnell now turned his attention to Bengal, and his experiences from November 1712 until the following January are related in the narrative that follows hereafter. He met at Calcutta his "good friend Captain Hercules Courtney, a gentleman that had been very serviceable to the Company in the Wars at Fort St. David but had run through the same misfortune as myself, being cashier'd a little before me at Madderass".

We next hear of him in February 1714, when he reappears at Fort William as a map-maker. At a Consultation held on the first of month it was resolved that : "Mr. John Burnell having with great care and ingenuity perfected a Map of the World in two Rounds 6 foot 2 Inches diameter Curiously Embellished with Gold and Silver the Title and names of Places being all wrote in Persian to make it a proper and acceptable Present for the Great Mogull which having cost many months time a Reward for his Pains being consider'd of we unanimously agree that he well deserves and therefore do order that a reward of Rupees 200 in money be given to him and that he have leave to go to England in the *King William* without Paying the usual £ 12 for his Passage that priviledge being due to him by the Company's order he having served in the Soldiery of Bombay and got an Honourable discharge from that service". (C. R. Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 160-161, Bengal Public Consultation of February 1st, 1714).

The ship, *King William*, commanded by Capt. Nehemiah Winter, was despatched on February 26, 1714, her passengers having come on board on the 21st: but the name of Burnell does not appear in the list of them, and no further mention of him has been discovered.

* *

ADVENTURES OF BURNELL IN BENGAL, 1712.

The Passage of the Ship Up the River : /2159/ The 26th (November, 1712) being clear we had sight of the low land and the pap of Banja¹ making in two round hommocks of no extraordinary altitude bearing N at 12 had sight of a Porger² standing over the braces³ to the westward, but came to an anchor on the latter end of the ebb.⁴³

At 2 we weighed with the tide of flood and wind at SWBS, steering N and NBE and NE little or no wind which obliged us to get the long boat a head and give her a tow our water, we deepen'd to 3½, 3½ and 4; at nine we anchored in the little⁴⁴ Swatch⁴ in 4½ we saw several fishing boats on the brace to the number of 25 or 30, the winds hung so much in the N Eastern quarter that compell'd us to desist from passing over the other Brace⁵ being forc'd to take our passage to the northward through the Junery channel; ⁶ Friday the 28th were abreast of the Barra-bullas⁷ the land⁴⁵ being low and even with some trees scattering, to the northward of which is the opening of Ingaley river being bounded on the opposite side by an island of the same name; ⁸ the opening is indifferent⁴⁶ broad, and a good channel up to the town.

We keep turning up with the flood the wind being at N and by eight were abreast of the buoy on the Barrabulla head; we shot up still to the northward, and at 9 came to an anchor off the long wood⁴⁷ on Ingaley island in 5 fathom having the buoy on the middle ground in sight bearing NEBE two leagues.

The wind standing still at N and 4 post meridian we weighed but were hardly under sail ere we made a ship at an anchor being N ½ E Dist: two leagues, by 5 were abreast of Kedgery⁹ river, it appears indifferent broad with two low points at its entrance Vizt. Ingaley and Kedgerey islands, when you have brought this point to bear NE then you are out of the buoy on

the long sand in 5 and 6 fathom water ; off the mouth of this river lieth Cuckolley¹⁰ sand about two miles in length, it appears dry at low water, between which and Ingaley island is a good channel in 5 and 6 fathom water⁴⁸.

By eight we were up with the ship and making about an hour's sail more to the northward, when we anchored in 4 fathoms ; we sent our boat on board her, as did they likewise a Willock¹¹ to us ; she proved an Armenian by name St. Pedro⁴⁹, bound to Fort St. George, Cojey Surratt¹² a merchant⁵⁰ and prime factor of that nation resident in Calcutta, paid us a visit in the aforesaid Willock and brought with him his musick consisting of a Georgian violin⁵¹, two small Kettle drums and the like number of Hautboys with which he entertained us ; the instruments were costly and of curious workmanship, to the violin the drums were added in concert, assisted with the voice of the musicians, whose ill tun'd notes and imperfect cadence made most lamentable discord.

/2160/ When they had sufficiently persecuted our ears with this melodious piece of concise⁵² harmony, the hautboys went to work ; one running up to the pitch of double Gamut whilst the other served as a drone⁵³, they playing upon them with such vehemency and force, which beating upon the drum of my ear so benumm'd my senses that I could bear nothing than the discharge of a demi culverin ; they kept us up pretty late, and about 2 in the morning returned aboard their ship in order to proceed on their voyage.

Saturday the 29th of November we weigh'd with the morning flood, and stood Thwart the river EBN on the back of the Gillingam¹³ in $3\frac{1}{2}$ fathom⁵⁴ and $4\frac{1}{4}$ leaving the buoy on our star-board, by seven came up with Channel⁵⁵ Creek or Jesora river¹⁴, it hath a wide open mouth being a good channel down to Chitty-gong, the shores on each side being a wilderness of trees ; on its northern shore is a strong rippling, which whether occasion'd by a shelf, or the meeting of two tides I am not certain ; here we pass'd two sloops at anchor, the one a Dutch, the other French.

We turned up the channel having from eight fathom to two and a foot till we came the length of Rangafulla¹⁵, where at eleven we came to an anchor the flood being spent ; here we found lying the Mary and Darby⁵⁶ two Company's ships bound for Europe.

The tide coming in at seven we weighed and shot up to the northward to pass the narrows of Gillingam, but when we came the length of Rangafulla river, the meeting of the two tides shot us full ashore on the northern point, it proved a steep bank we having 4 fathom on our larboard side and but two feet in the main chains of our starboard; we were now got into the woods, the trees hanging as thick within board and over our heads as if we were in an harbour, one great tree more especially under our keel about midships on which she sat.

We were now in hurry and confusion, fearing as the tide fell she would overset she heeling pretty well to port; we got out long spars of wood to tend her off, but it would not do, she having the shore so close aboard that you might have stepp'd on shore without so much as being wetshod.

When the hurry was pretty well over the Captain advised to fire guns as in distress, that the Mary and Darby's boats might come to our assistance, they lying within hear; but the pilot was for heaving her off ourselves and having the advantage of a fine moon light night we got our stream anchor and cable into the long boat, and carried it out on our quarter, and having well mann'd the Capstern soon hove her off.

The river is large and navigable; boats going down by this stream to Chitigong as well as by the former⁵⁷, it flowing from the sea upwards; we presently shot clear up the channel till /2161/ about 9 when we past the Kent⁵⁸ lying at an anchor, off Roages river¹⁶ and half an hour after anchored in 7 fathom water; next morning at six came to sail, working up the channel on the starboard side of the Diamond sand⁵⁹ in 8, 10, 12, and 13 fathom water; then shoaling to 4 and 5 we pass'd Cuckhold's⁶⁰ point¹⁷ and by 12 were up with the Danes town¹⁸, a few scattering hovels⁶¹, then past (Tomberlee)¹⁹ lying on the So. side of a river⁶² of that name, by other Ganges⁶³, opposite to which lieth Hughley Point⁶⁴, and in the fare way a sand called the James and Mary⁶⁵, of which ships ought to be careful²⁰.

Thus having pass'd the most remarkable dangers of which care ought to be taken to avoid them, we continued tiding it up nothing of note occurring till we came the length of Tana²¹, a great town on the larboard side of the river, having for its defence a large brick fort to the river, with four round bulwarks; through the embrasures of which look'd 4 or 5 iron culverins, tho' what store of guns they have to the land board I am not certain.

On the north bounds of the castle stands the Chocky⁶⁶ circumvolving of which they had flung up an intrenchment, and on the opposite side of the river lay the ruins of a battery flung up by a Gentew Raga⁶⁷, in order to demolish the castle in the Bengallian War, when the fort was taken from the Moors by an English agent⁶⁸, whose name I have forgot, tho' after restored to them when the peace was concluded.

Some Account of Calcutta : Having passed this piece of defence, with a fine easy gale near two leagues we opened Calcutta our desired port ; it gratifying us with a most agreeable prospect which when we were come its length, we dropt anchor before the fort, saluting the garrison with 7 guns, who returned us the like compliment.⁶⁹

I shall not here enter into a description of the remarkables of Calcutta, seeing my abode of 4 days there hath not furnish'd me with a sufficient supply, but shall only inform you, on my arrival I paid my respects to the governor (John Russel⁷⁰ Esqr.) to tender him an offer of my service, which he told me he would take into his consideration, upon which taking my leave I repaired to my brother officers of the military, who entertained me with abundance of civility, among them was my good friend captain Hercules Courtney⁷¹, a gentleman /2162/ that had been very serviceable to the Company in the wars at fort St. David, but had run through the same misfortune as myself, being cashier'd a little before me at Madderass, he coming hither for employ, but meeting with disappointments, laid hold of the opportunity of going up to Hugley, where the Moors were embroiled in a war, he entering into the service of Juda Con²² managed the face of affairs so well that it much enlarged his credit, receiving from the Nabob several rich presents for his good service, tho' not so much as was before promised him, upon which in a disgust he left them, and was but lately arrived at Calcutta⁷².

Mr. Russel, Governor of Calcutta : Three days being expired, I went to know his honours mind, who ingenuously told me he had no vacancy, all his commissions being full, otherwise he would give me service ; but advised me to go home on board one of the Europe ships, I answered I had not a hundred Pagodas to pay for my passage and seeing I could not now go home to my friends handsomely, I was resolved to stay in India till I could, or necessity forced me to the contrary ; so would have taken my leave of the governor but he calling me back would

oblige me seeing he had not service for me to give him my word of honour I would not take up service under the Moors ; I answered I might as well give him the same that I would receive no sustenance for a twelvemonth, for seeing as in duty bound I had first made proffers of service to my country, which they not accepting I held myself no longer obliged, but was at my free liberty to go take service where I pleased, so that those whom I served were no enemies to my King and Country.

He replied all this is reasonable, but then these nations among whom we dwell being ignorant of the law of arms, and the recourse of Englishmen to side with either party might be detrimental to the Company's affairs.

I returned his honour was only capable of remedying the ills that might thereby accrue, and that to sustain this mortal body bread was required, which if the Company would not give me I should (with his honour's leave) go to them that would ; so accordingly taking my leave I went to inform Captain Courtany of my success, who advised me by all means to go up to Hugley, and take service under the Emmer⁷³ of Bengal²³, giving me his word if nothing of consequence interposed he would be soon up after me ; we passed the time with various discourse upon that subject and at parting he gave me letters to Monsure Attrope⁷⁴, governor of the Danes factory at Gundullparra²⁴ who he told me was his friend.

I hired a Willock that evening, and taking with me my effects proceeded on my voyage ; by sunsetting we got the length of Barnagur⁷⁵, and by nine arrived at Gundullparra ;⁷⁶ I /2163/ sent my servant to desire admittance, who soon after returned with some others belonging to the factory informing me the governor was up and desired my company, they accordingly conducting me upstairs into a large spacious chamber, where the governor received me very civilly ; I delivered him my letters, which he reading soon made way for a discourse concerning the wars of Hugley ; he expressed abundance of friendship to me on Capn. Cortney's account, but it being pretty late we retired to our repose.

The Danes Factory at Gundullparra : The next morning getting up pretty early, I had the opportunity of viewing the factory, which is a pretty neat and compact pile of buildings, built fronting the river at a bow shot distance ; on its banks are lin'd down a tier of iron culverins and sakers²⁵ for salutes, twenty or

five and twenty in number, lying on the right hand of the landing place as you ascend the stupedety⁷⁷ (sic) of the bank from whence to the house is a fine walk underneath the umbarge⁷⁸ of shady trees row'd on each side at equal distances ; you enter the gate (which is large and spacious maintaining always a small guard) into a fine square Court, the factory house taking up the western side, the other three being run round with lodging rooms and warehouses fares on the top and considerably lower than the western building, the yard being divided into squares by a cross walk in the left hand : in your egress from the gate standeth the flag staff whereon is hoisted the standard of Denmark.

On the back side of the factory which consists but of two stories, is a pretty large garden indifferently handsome, abounding in sallading and sweet herbs, beans, pease and turnips ; neither is it wanting in flowers, of which it hath variety, it is likewise adorned with a fine shady walk, and a noble large fish-pond full of excellent fish, which swim in shoals upon the surface of the water ; there is likewise a small sort of a bastion built at the NW corner of the garden, looking to Gondullparra tho' it hath no guns mounted thereon.

Having thus taken a view of the factory, I returned to the governor who I found was just risen ; we passed the morning away in a very affable manner ; (he being a man of excellent parts, to a degree civil and courteous to strangers) and when dinner was ready we sat down to a plentiful table, in which shone the ancient hospitality of our English nobility who certainly received it from the Danes ; no fantastical kickshaws borrowed from our neighbours the French, but good hearty feeding cleanly dressed and well cook'd, and to wash down a cup of old Lubeck beer, to crown our felicity and welfare that I may truly say I never eat a meal with a better gust or with more satisfaction in my life.

Having returned the governor my most humble thanks for the favours he had conferred upon me, he was pleased /2164/ to give me two letters recommendatory ; (the one for the Emmer of Bengal, the other to Mynheer Hoffmaster⁷⁹ the second of the Dutch factory at Chincura) I took my leave of him and embarked in my boat passing by a small ship and yacht belonging to the Danes, and by three in the afternoon was got the length of Chandurnagur the French factory, being distant from Gundullparra about a mile and quarter ; the town is large and uniform,

adorned with great numbers of good edifices, so is likewise the factory, which makes an agreeable prospect to the river.

We were now obliged to hawl over and keep the star-board shore on board for fear of the enemy ; being got within gunshot of them, the Emmer of Bengal having three or four batteries on the starboard, as had likewise the Nabob Juda Con who was block'd up in Chandurnagur on the larboard side of the river.

And here it will not be amiss to say something of the rise of this war as likewise of it's Briad⁸⁰ (sic) which had an end whilst I was at Moexudbath²⁶.

Disturbances at Hughley among the Moors : Shallum the emperor²⁷ from a meaner station advanced (blank) who from Gentilism embraced Mahometism to the government of Bengal, creating him Annabob or viceroy thereof, changing his name (it being a mark of high honour) to that of Mursed Cola Con, but the death of Shawlam happening whilst he was in the government, the king's children broke out into an open war for the crown ; Mursed Cola Con⁸¹ sided with Mosidean²⁸ the eldest⁸², and whilst they managed the war in Industan he sends for Juda Con Nabob of Ballasore, and governor of Hugley, to bring in his rents received as part of the king's revenues, that he might make his accounts up to the King, seeing he could not tell that money was brought in.

Upon which Juda Con goes to the Anabob at Moxudbath and takes along with him Kingcarson²⁹, his Banian or rent gatherer, informing him that they would deliver in no money till there was a new king establish'd ; others will have it that the Annabob offering a daughter in marriage to Juda Con he refused the proposals, because the Annabob had been a servant under his father ; but be it how it will, he was scarce got down to Hugley, ere Holy beg³⁰ was sent down to take from him his government and to declare war, upon which Juda Con fortifies himself on the north boundaries of Chandurnagur, flinging up several batteries to the river ward and land board, mounting thereon between 50 and 60 guns, mostly between sixteen and eighteen pounders.

Collbeg Con⁸³ the elder brother of Holy Beg, being general of the horse marches into the field, and encamps to the westward of Chandarnagur, blocking up that side, and sends another strong detachment to the other side of the river to lie in those batteries ; Holy Beg keeping in the castle at Hugley ; the batteries that were

flung up to dismount the artillery on /2165/ those Juda Con had raised were taken from them by Captain Courtney, he driving them the same time into the castle, upon the news of which Murshed Cola Con recalls Holy Beg from his command, and sends down the Emmer of Bengal to carry on the war.

The Emmer being come to his command with 1,000 horse and 6,000 foot, encamps before Chandernagur, giving (tho' I believe by the Hanabob's order) all the European soldiers into the charge of a rascally Padre of the Augustin order ; of which more hereafter ; he lay before it a considerable time, but did nothing having several misfortunes attending him, as a mutiny among his men, three hundred horse going from him together ; but upon the promise of two months pay advance they came back ; he lay about two months longer before it, when the confirmation came of Forixears³¹ being King, he took the opportunity of a dark night accompanied with two others in the habit of Fuckears (i.e. Country beggars) and scarcely departed from the army, who in the morning finding their general gone, disbanded, and thus far as to the war of Hugley.

To return ; being come to the Chinchury³², I landed and went to Mynheer Hoffmaster, who was extreme civil, desiring me to make use of his house as my house, till such time as I was settled, and very obligingly ordered his Palankeen to carry me to the Emmer of Bengal, it being a league to the place where he lay encamp'd.

When I came to the camp I was strangely surprised to see in what confusion they had pitched their tents, being quite destitute of form and order, without any respect or precedence in persons, the general being near the center of the Camp, with a large markees⁸⁴ round it, in the front were advanc'd five or six standards of a triangular form ; some azure, others argent, charged with a ball gules ; in this manner were they encamped horse and foot confused together without any marshalling or discipline among them.

Being arrived at the generals tent, I alighted and after making myself slipshod⁸⁵, conforming to the custom of the country, I was conducted to the Emmer who I found sitting cross legged smoking his hubble hubble⁸⁶, and round him a great number of officers : I paid him my Salam and having seated myself for me to discourse the matter privately ; he asked me when Captain Courtney would come up, I answered I believed in 4 or 5 days,

he had me write and assure him of twenty thousand rupees when the wars were over, the one half to be deposited in the hands of Monseer Attroop, and the other in the hands of Mynheer Hoffmaster ; as to my business he proffered me the command of One hundred Europeans, and one hundred rupees Pr. /2166/ Month ; after which treating me with some very good Madeira wine in a China sneaker³³, which surprised me knowing it is forbidden in their law and by most Moors held as an abomination ; but I supposed the Dutch imposed it upon them, or else design'd it a present for the general, to solace himself with in private when freed from the censorious remarks of the more stricter sort of musselemen.

Having taken leave I departed to the Chinchura, where at my arrival I found my new friend Hoffmaster with some more Dutch gentlemen at supper, he kindly chid me for staying so long, and after I had excused myself, I sat down and joined the society, after supper we settled to drinking and smoking, having variety of wines to intice the appetite, at which excess we continued till it was pretty late, when the guests breaking up I was lighted to my repose.

I stay'd at Mynheer Hoffmaster the space of a fortnight being very civilly intreated, in which time I wrote to Captain Courtney and received letters from him, wherein he informed me of the troubles he was in at Calcutta, the governor designing to impede his voyage up by sending him to Madrass least he should come to the assistance of the Emmer of Bengal, which as I afterwards heard he effected.

Having taken leave of my friend I went wholly to the Emmer of Bengal, who gave me an order to go and receive my men from the Padre on the morrow, who hearing of my being in the camp sent his Palankeen and his servant desiring me to come and take up my quarters with him, where he had provided a chamber for me, assuring me how proud he would be to serve me ; I could not withstand all this civility (Tho' I had been pretty well informed of the villanous actions committed by the ecclesiasticks of the Church of Rome) but went into the Palankeen and was carried to the Convent where the father stood ready to receive me in a square taris³⁴ yard before the door of the priory, I paid him my respects due to his holy function, who returned my compliment with abundance of civility ; we entered the church hand in hand into the father's apartment, and down we sat to

solace ourselves with a bottle, the wine being come and he desiring me to be free, telling me every thing I saw there was my own, we began to discourse of affairs, at every word it was brother Captain and brother Captain, he desiring me not to remember his spiritual function till such time as I saw him administer at the high altar, solemnly protesting he would be himself in the then (sic) sending for his sword and blunderbuss, he shewed me his weapons of offence.

The wine not proving extraordinary, being thick and muddy to oblige so dear a friend as I was, he sent for a case bottle⁸⁷ of that which was better, telling me it was the holy wine with which he administered the Sacrament, of which we drank /2167/ plentifully, and in it the father drank damnation to the enemy, but I having a little more grace than the bishop would not pledge it, which another Portuguese Captain did very cordially saying they were Mahometans and therefore deserved to be damned; the priest then drank a health to St. George, and to return the compliment I drank another to St. Augustin, which so obliged the father who was of that order that he would needs prove them a kin to one another, and at last did conclude and really believe them to be Cousin Germans.

Then was brought out a draught of Juda Con's batteries, taken upon the place by another holy father in disguise, and we then entered into a close consultation about storming them; at last it was agreed between us, that father should march down to the Chinchera, and so along the river side at the head of two hundred men, and storm two batteries the one of six, the other four guns, and I to march with a hundred and fifty men against Molatrusoms³⁵, a battery of seven guns, and two small batteries adjoining of 3 and 2 guns; but then at proper distance from the enemies works I was to form a detachment of 50 of my men to amuse another battery and so draw off the enemy to the defence of that whilst I entered with my men, which when the detachment seeing were to rejoin me; and the Emmer of Bengal with his army was to attack that part towards Chandernagur; thus when we had made ourselves masters of their works, we were to turn the guns on the enemy, and the next day to take the Nabob prisoner.

Thus had the father laid out the work, and after this manner was Chandarnager to be taken; so eager was the friar in pursuing the design that (altho' it was pretty late) he would not give him-

self respite till the morrow, but must needs shew me into the armoury, where were military weapons enough to arm six hundred men complete with Carbine, bayonet and granado;⁸⁸ besides a vast number of stink pots, and a most barbarous sort of Partizan⁸⁶, the blades being near six inches broad and upwards of sixteen long, these were all new lately made by his order, he keeping 4 or 5 forges continually going in his yard, so that he hath in a manner quite turned the church into an arsenal; from hence the father conducted me to my chamber, and very lovingly wish'd me a good repose.

But see the transitory changes of things in this world, rising next morning and going to the father, not doubting but to meet him in the same cheerful humour he had so loving caressed me over night with, but on the contrary found him so crabbed and cross that he would hardly vouchsafe me an answer, I ask'd him for my men, he told me he'd give me none; I shew'd him my authority, he said he cared not for it, I ask'd for his Palankeen to go to the Emmer of Bengal in, he told me I might go on foot; and so brother Capt. and brother Capt. parted.

/2168/ I was so highly provok'd with this usage, that I told my resentment to the Emmer in the most agreeable manner I could, but had not half finish'd ere the father arrived; I rallied him pretty handsomely before the general, telling him it became not his function to appear in arm, it was downright perjuring himself in the second vow of his order, that my profession was the sword which I would freely lend him if he would leave with me as a pledge his hood and mass book, he then might go on in his designs, and gorge himself in the blood of those he so eagerly thirsted after.

I found the fryar was extremely nettled, but he having the Moor's tongue flunt, talk'd a considerable time to the Emmer, tho' what he said I know not, but the Emmer would by all means make us friends before we parted, and accordingly taking the father's hand and mine in his own, he join'd them together, and I freely forgave the priest, but would not go with him home (tho' the Emmer desired, and I excused it) least he should give some more of his Sacrament wine, or else clap me into the inquisition.

The Emmer ordered me then a large brick house in the Bandell, and a horse or palankeen constantly to attend me, sending me at meal time Pelows³⁷ and rich serbets, that I lived with great satisfaction, but nothing coming in, and I constantly put-

ting him in mind of his promise he fairly told me that he could not take any men from the Padra by reason that the Dewan had made him paymaster and commander-in-chief of the Christian soldiers ; but altho' I had no men and same singly to him without a company, yet he would take care of me , and allow me the same as if I had, and that if I could raise any Europeans that were not in the fryar's service he would allow them 35 rupees Pr Month ; all this past and I set up for recruiting, when all the Europeans in general, whereof there were not a few of my countrymen came, desiring me to head them, they not caring to serve under the Portuguese Captains with whom they were placed but wanted a commander of their own nation ; but I told them Gentlemen I understand that you are upon the Padre's books, and therefore will have nothing to do with you till such time as you are clear from his service, but those that are not concerned with the priest and have received no money from him, if they are willing to enter I will willingly entertain them, and thus I dismissed them from my lodgings.

Whilst I was thus recruiting an accident and misfortune attended me through the instigation of the father which was as followeth : one evening walking out with a friend to refresh ourselves, we called in at the Church of the Paulistans and paid a visit to the father who was of the order of Jesus ; he shewed us the church and what was else deserving remark³⁸, after which we took our leaves and thank'd him for his civility, we were hardly got three stones cast from the Convent, but a /2169/ black rascally Portugueze brush'd up along by me, and with a jerk snatch'd the sword from my side, the hilt being silver and something valuable, I immediately turned round to pursue the villain and was unexpectedly knock'd down with a blunderbuss, but getting up again as well as I could, was immediately surrounded with 12 or 13 men, and among them the rascal that had my sword, which being willing to recover I made up to him, but he having a pistol in the other hand snapp'd it at me, but it not going off I presently run in with him and grappled ere he could have time to recover and cock it, but I was soon made to lose my hold by a fellow behind who knock'd me down with a firelock, which with the blow broke over my head, I had them upon me then thick and three fold banging and basting me most nobly, till such time as the fellow was gone off with the sword, and then they also march'd off in a body ; my friend who had

stood by all the while begging them for God's sake not to kill me, without ever coming to my assistance I was going to fall foul of, had he not pacified me with good words, telling me it was better as it was, for if a sword had been drawn in my defence, one or both had certainly been murdered, it being impossible to resist so many.

They being all Portuguese soldiers belonging to the father, to him I made my complaint desiring justice and my sword again, which he promis'd me I should have on the morrow, and that they should be severely punished for the riot; but he was not so good as his word for I never saw the sword after, but on the contrary was credibly inform'd it was done by the Padre's orders.

By this time I had raised 29 or 30 men, which having entered on the roll I carried them before the Emmer of Bengall, who approving them gave me orders to return to the father and receive their advance money, he being paymaster of all the Europe men in general; I accordingly went and when I came there, the father told me he had no money for my men, but that the Emmer had inform'd him he designed to pay them himself as a separate Company; the next day I went to the Emmer and told him what the father had said, who seemed troubled in his countenance and told me he never mentioned any such thing but had given him positive orders to pay them, and thereupon remanded me back to him again.

Being come to my lodgings I dismissed my men to their several quarters, and sent my servant to inform the father I would wait on him after dinner, which being ended I accordingly went, having three of my men along with me tho' none of them armed, nor was I myself any more than my sword; /2170/ when I came to the Convent I found the father at cards with some of his Portuguese Captains, there being a concourse of them sitting round a great table.

I told him I came for money, and that I was sent with a positive order to be paid my advance that evening he told me he would pay me no money unless I brought an order from the Dewan who was the Emmer of Bengal's master; and thereupon gave me scurrilous language, which so highly provoked me that I called the fryar an old designing rogue, which intolerable indignity flung in the face of a father of the church, letting fly the reins of an ungovernable passion, up they rose upon me one and

all, crying kill the dog ; vast numbers of others came flocking from all parts of the Convent to assault me, so that in an instant I had ninety or a hundred drawn swords against me at once.

The father had run into his chamber to fetch his weapons of war, who presently appeared at the head of three other fryars in the robes of their order, all armed with sword and target⁸⁹.

Mean while a Portugeze making a cut at my head, it was fended off by one of my men receiving it half through his cane, and the Padra going to second the blow I grasp'd his sword in my hand, which he drawing through gave me a small mark to remember him.

I had presence of mind enough to consider if I had but made an offer to draw, I should have been cut down ere my sword could be free from the scabbard, seeing I was hemm'd round with such a multitude and several tugging to get it from me, I easily loos'd my hold and let them take it being sensible the doctrine of non-resistance was most proper at the present juncture ; when they found they had disarmed me they were pretty easy, and then were for pushing me out of the Church head foremost ; when I came into the porch I sent in to the father, desiring the restoring of my sword promising to be the author of no disturbance with it, had it accordingly sent me ; I went home and bound up my hand, and had not been reposed above two hours when news was brought me that the Padre had sent for all my men, and told them if they would relinquish my service and take arms under him he would immediately pay them which all but five accepted of, being forced thereto (as several of them told me after) by necessity, and thus was I baulk'd of my Company.

Description of the Chinchurah and Hugley : Having seriously reflected on these misfortunes and having secret information that the father design'd me a dose, I began to have some thoughts towards travel, and to see what I could do elsewhere, which I accordingly concluded on, but before I proceed I shall say something concerning the Chinchura, Hugley, Golgutt and the Bandell, and then proceed onwards with my voyage.

The Chinchura or Dutch settlement is bounded on the north by Hugley, and on the south by Chandernagore, on /2171/ the east it hath the river, and on the west lieth open to the country ; it is a large town, chequer'd with diversity of streets, and a multitude of good buildings, the factory stands at the south end and

is the residence of the Directore, who is the principal factor the Dutch have in Bengal, having under him several out factories, as those of Cossimbuzar, Dacca, Rogiomall⁹⁰, and Patna ; the factory is large and encompass'd round with a very high wall, on the NW corner of which is a sort of a bastion, whereon are guns mounted, and in the center of the front curtain a large port which maintains a guard, here belonging a company of soldiers with their respective officers for the defence of the place and from the port to the river a noble broad walk raised, lined on each side with lofty row of stately trees, at the end thereof is the flagstaff⁹¹.

The river is thus high navigable with the tide for ships of 6 or 700 tons burthen they riding before the factory in 8 and 10 fathom water ; it is seldom without Europe shipping notwithstanding the effects they yearly export to Batavia ; the next remarkable is the Dutch repository to the westward of the factory, being a large square place inclosed with a brick wall, full of tombs in variety of forms, some large others of a smaller magnitude, but mostly ruinate.

Hugley is a large populous city and Moors garrison seated in the Latitude of (blank) degrees (blank) minutes north ; the houses but indifferent⁹² as in most places of the Eastern globe, but the merchants make in some measure a more splendid appearance, whose shops are splendidly set out with all sorts of rich and costly commodities.

The great Buzar or main street is of most remark extending near three-quarters of a mile, you enter it from the Chinchery through two large gateways including in the vacancy a square building running from gate to gate⁹³ serving formerly as stables for the horse belonging to the garrison, and in the center or mid-way between the gates a small mosque, tho' it is as well as the whole building in general mostly ruinate.

In the northermost of these two ports was posted a company of Europe soldierrs in the late wars, mostly upon the merchants account, they keeping guard and shutting up their gates every night at the usual hours, though they were but of small defence to them being inch and half plank and made to turn upon wooden hinges.

From the port all the remaining length of the street is the Buzar furnish'd on each side with stalls and shops well furnish'd and stock'd with a universality of commodities that the buyer

may provide himself at all times with whatever his occasions require, as well European as Indian vendibles.

/2172/ At the upper end of the Buzar is situated the castle⁹⁴ in a low sandy soil, being bounded to the eastward with the river, it is in form an irregular Pentagon of four round bulwarks, one angle having none, and hath two ports ; the main is fronting to the Buzar, which is large and spacious, having two new intrenchments cast up without it in which are mounted a small number of patteraroes and murderers ;³⁹ the passage between the intrenchments is secur'd with a great chain, and in the port stands fronting the street a large hoop gun as big as a demi cannon, tho' it carries a shot not above two inches and a half diameter ; it is of the country make, being almost as thick at the bore as it is at the breech, compacted of a great number of iron hoops for the bore, then laid round with iron bars for the length of the gun, and lastly those bound over or cas'd with other hoops of the same metal all worked together at the forge, like the iron bars in a large anchor they being excellent artists at it, and by report they are very good proof.

They have another small battery or two on the rampier near the gate mounted with old demi culverin, and Saker ; and likewise several long and swivel guns of the country make, some in carriages and some without lying down in the yard, tho' no other mounted on the works, the rampiers not being broad enough to admit them, yet there is a parapet cast up on the edge of the rampier with loop holes for the bowmen and small arms ; in the castle is a large yard or green, at the end of which is the governor's apartment, and a new edifice carrying on, which when finished will be a pretty compact dwelling, behind which is the other gate, small in comparison of the former, this lets towards the river where the slope or Talud is carried up much higher than in other places ; the castle is seated pretty near the middle of the city, there being two other gates on it's northern limits, through which you pass to the Bandell.

*Description of Golgutt*⁹⁵, the English Factory in Hugley : Golgutt⁴⁰ an English factory, subordinate under Calcutta is seated in the city of Hughly on the banks of the river, it here forming itself into a Cove, being deep water ships riding 16 and 18 fathom not a stones cast off shore ; being landed and ascended the bank you enter the factory through a large gate beautiul and adorned

with pillars and cornishes in the Chanam work, and on the top of all is the flag staff fixed into the brick work whereon they hoist St. George's flag ; being entered the gate you come into a small Court yard, on the right hand being a row of apartments, and on the left a Virenda for the guard ; you ascend into the house by steps, having under it two square cellars with staircases to descend ; the hall is indifferent large, besides two indifferent apartments with chimneys there are other rooms and closets in the house, the whole consisting but of one story.

Behind the house is a garden, in which grows nothing but weeds, in the middle is an ugly well, at one corner /2173/ upon the wall is built a round sort of a business like a sentry box, but much larger, you ascend it by a narrow Chenam staircase, which have no rails or fence, to keep you from tumbling into the garden, and when entered you see nothing worth observation having a door but never a window tho' it yields an excellent echo, it being contrived as I have been informed as a magazine for powder.

At the end of the garden are the ruins of several apartments the roofs being fallen in, and indeed all the out-houses are in the like condition of which there are several ; you may ascend to the top of the factory by an old wooden staircase which is well terras'd, with seats all round and a small oblong place included by its self, from whence you have a prospect of the river ; to conclude it is an old, ugly, ill contrived edifice wherein is not the least spark of beauty, form, or order, to be seen, being seated in a dull melancholy hole enough to give one the Hippocondra⁹⁶ by once seeing it ; the Company have no factor at present that is resident here, being left in the charge of a Molly⁹⁷ and two or three Punes, tho' in truth it is hardly worth looking after.

Description of the Bandell : The Bandell⁹⁸ I shall next describe and then conclude, it being the vilest, wickedest, and most profane spot of ground under the cope of heaven ; All the sins that brought down vengeance from Sodom and Gomorrah are here daily and hourly practised without any detection or restraint, being a nest of banditti Portugueze who live without any manner of government, neither is one respected more than the other, but he that hath been guilty of the basest villany ; shooting a man and stabbing him asleep are here accounted honourable actions, neither is it much to be wondered at were one but to reflect on

the treacherous villanies that nation hath been so heinously guilty of these late years.

Being through the northern gate of Hugley you have a fine walk to the Bandell of about half a mile over a broad earth bank like a rampier flung up to keep the river which runs along side it from overflowing; being come into the town the first object that attacks the eye is the convent or priory belonging to the order of St. Augustin⁴¹, whereof Father Francisco Pereoe⁹⁹ my old antagonist was incumbent; it is a large and spacious building, making a very agreeable prospect, being white washed, and circumvolved with a brick wall including the ground for the repository, in a corner of which stands a flag staff belonging to the convent.

Adjoining is a large brick bridge of two or three arches standing over a dry dyke⁴², but in the rain times it serves to carry the water from off the higher grounds, the town hath several streets, and a great many very good houses in one of which I lived; there is another church dedicated to /2174/ St. Paul belonging to the Jesuits order as I have before observed¹⁰⁰.

Sunday January the eleventh 1712/13 about 2 in the afternoon I embark'd in a willock which I had hired for Moxidbad, my boats crew consisting of about six rowers and a steersman besides my servants.

NOTES (by H. E. A. Cotton)

1. The "paps of Banja" are shown in Thornton's Chart of 1703 as lying on the left hand shore just above the "river Bitecool" (Beercool).
2. *Porger*—otherwise *porgo*: probably a corruption of the Portuguese word *barca* or *barco*, which was the term used for any kind of sailing boat by early Portuguese visitors to the East: cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *porgo*. In a Ms account by T. B. (owrey) quoted by Anderson, *English Intercourse with Siam* (p. 266: 1669): we find the following: "A *Purgoo*: These Vse for the most part between Hugly and Pyplo and Ballasore; with these boats they carry goods into Ye Roads on board English and Dutch ships, they will line a long time in ye sea, being brought to anchor by ye Sterne, as theire Vsual way is."
3. The "Western or Outer Braces" are shown in Thornton's

Chart as a large sand-bank projecting from the coast just by the "paps of Banja".

4. *The Little Swatch* : "The Swatch of No Ground" lay just off the delta. It is described by Fergusson in his paper on Recent Changes in the Delta of the Ganges (Quarterly Journal Geol. Soc., August 1863) as "a great depression or hole in the middle of the Bay of Bengal." Thornton's Chart does not give it ; unless it be indicated as "The Little Bason", and "The Great Bason." There is a similar "Swatch" off the delta of the Indus.

5. *The Other Brace*—The Eastern or Inner Braces.

6. *The Junery Channel*—This is not to be found in Thornton's Chart : and there is no mention of it in Mr. Barlow's notes.

7. *The Barrabullas*—These sands are not shown on the modern Survey Map. But John Ritchie's map of 1770 places them in lat. 21 40 between Saugor island and the western shore. They are marked on Thornton's chart, which also gives "Kitesall or Barabulla Trees" on the western shore. (Kitesall or Kittysol = umbrella).

8. *Ingaley river and Island* : shown as "Kedgelie" in Thornton's Chart. The modern Hijili in Midnapore district. The "Long Wood" is duly marked, just at the entrance to the "Kedgelie" or Rasoolpoor river.

9. *Kedgery river and island* : The modern Kedgerree.

10. *Cuckolley sand* : Cowcolly (Geonkhali),

11. "*Willock*" or "*Woolock*" was a species of boat. It is mentioned in *Hedges' Diary* (1683, Vol. I. p. 76) where it is spelled "Olock". Colesworthy Grant gives a drawing of one in his *Rural Life in Bengal* (p. 25) and calls it "the bulky Oolak, or baggage boat of Bengal."

12. *Khojah Israel Serhaud* was the nephew of Khoja Phanoos Calandar, an Armenian merchant of Ispahan who obtained a trade charter from the East India Company in 1688, and also permission to erect a church "in any garrison cities or towns belonging to the Company in the East Indies". In the cemetery attached to the Armenian Church of St. Nazareth in Calcutta is the tombstone (discovered in 1894 by Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth) of "Rezabeebeh, the wife of the late charitable Sookeas", who died on July 11, 1630 : so that the Armenian settlement in Calcutta must have been long antecedent to the arrival of Job Charnock in 1690. Khojah Serhaud was instrumental in securing for the English from Azim-us-shan, the grandson of Aurangzebe, in 1698,

permission to rent the three villages of Govindpore, Suttanuttee and Calcutta, for a payment of Rs. 16,000 annually. He also accompanied John Surman's mission to Delhi as interpreter in 1715. William Hamilton, "Chyrurgeon", was also of the party and died at Calcutta, after his return, on December 4, 1717. "His Memory", says his tombstone in St. John's Churchyard, "ought to be dear to this Nation, for the credit he gained Ye English in curing Ferruckseer, ye present king of Indostan, of a Malignant Distemper": for his fee was the "Grand Firman" which confirmed the purchase of the three villages.

13. *The Gillingam Sand* or *Grand Middle Ground* lies just above Kedgerree in the centre of the channel. Mr. Barlow conjectures Gillingam or Gillingham to be a corruption of "Jilinga".

14. *Channel Creek* or *Jessora river*—on the eastern shore is still known by the former name.

15. *Rangafulla*: a creek on the eastern bank: "The Tengra Creek above the existing Rangafulla Obelisk is still considerable enough for boats" (Barlow, 1887).

16. "*Rogue's River*" was the name given by Europeans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to one of the Sunderbund channels joining the lower Hooghly river from the eastward. It was so-called from the Arakan rovers, sometimes Portuguese and sometimes Muggs from Chittagong, whose ships lay in the creek and watched for plunder. Mr. Barlow observes: "The name 'River of Rogues' seems to have varied in specific application: sometimes given to a channel near Rangafulla, sometimes, perhaps, to Channel Creek, to Culpee Creek, or even to Chingri Khal." After careful comparison of all the references and of old and modern charts, Yule and Burnell (Hobson-Jobson) have come to the conclusion that the "Rogue's River" should be located at what is now called Chingri Khal, entering the river immediately below Diamond Harbour, or else at Culpee Creek, about six miles lower down. Capt. Alex. Hamilton (1727) describes "the first safe anchoring place" as "lying off the mouth of a River about 12 leagues above Sagor, commonly known by the name of Rogues River". Thornton calls it "R. Theves".

17. *Cuckold's Point*—on the western shore: corresponding with the "Luff's Point" of modern charts (Barlow).

18. *The Danes Town*: or *Deans Town*: on the western shore: not shown on Thornton's chart: but cf. Alex. Hamilton (1727, Vol. II, p. 3): "A little below the mouth of it (Ganga or

Tumlook river) the Danes have a thatcht House, but for what Reasons. . . . I never could learn". Mr. Barlow, who identifies "Deans Sand" as identical with the modern Hooghly Sand, quotes as follows from Long's *Selections from Unpublished Records*: "Consultation, Decr. 21, 1749. Received a letter from Capt. George Minchin, dated the 19th instant, from Deans Town, importing that he should distress the Morattoes in the utmost of his power, as he looked on the sloops to be in a state of defence sufficient to secure the men from the shot of the Morattoes: he intended to bring them close to the shore".

19. *Tomberlee*—a corruption of Tumlook (the ancient port of Tamralipti) on the western shore. Alex. Hamilton calls the river which is now known as the Rupnarayan, "Ganga". It is shown as "R. Tomberlie" in Thornton's chart, with "Gonga Colle" (Goenkhali) just below. . .

Tombole Point is now known as Mornington Point.

20. *The James and Mary*: See article in *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 83-91. The wreck of the vessel of that name took place in 1694. Owing to the absence of the name in Streynsham Master's diary (1676) and Davenport's sailing directions in the English Pilot of 1703, Mr. Barlow thinks that there must be an interpolation in Thornton's Chart. Some change took place (in his opinion) between 1684 and 1694 which set up this new danger to navigation.

21. *Tana*—or Muckwah Thannah, was a Mahomedan outpost on the western shore built to protect the trade of the river. It was of brickwork and there was a mud fort on the opposite bank (Ives, p. 101). In Rennell's map it is shown as lying $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles below the modern Fort William and may be located just above the site of the house of the Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens. According to Sir George King, there was a small creek here, running inland towards the great banyan tree, which even in these early days had attained a considerable size. Tannah Fort or Choky (chauki) was taken by Job Charnock ("the English agent whose name I have forgot") in 1687 and destroyed by Clive and Watson on January 1, 1757. The following quotation from the log of H.M.S. *Kent* under the date of January 1, 1757 is given in Sir Henry Yule's notes to Hedges' Diary (Hakl. Soc. 1889, Vol. III, p. ccxv): "The Tyger's Seamen took possession of Tanner's Fort which the enemy had abandoned and our boats took the Fort on the opposite side, hoisted English colours and

set fire to them both". Ives (p. 101) states that 40 cannon were found in the two Forts, many of them 20 pounders. Streynsham Master wrote of the place in 1676 : "In Tannah stands an old ffort of mud walls wch was build to prevent ye incursion of the Arracaners, for it seems about ten or twelve years since they were soe bold that none dare inhabit lower down the river than this place, the Arracaners usually taking the people of the shoares to sell them at Tiple" (query, Pipli : but hardly Tipera as suggested by Yule). Tannah Reach was the scene in 1759 of a smart action between the Dutch and the English which is thus described in "Asiaticus : in Two parts" (1803 edition) :

"Seven Dutch ships, one of 36 guns, three of 26 guns and three of 22, 20, and 18 guns, arrived in the river with Troops from Batavia, amongst whom were 400 Malays. They came up to the Lower End of Tannah Reach, where the Troops were landed and were to march up to Calcutta. There were only three Company's ships at Calcutta of 26 guns each, which were fitted for the occasion. They attacked the Dutch ships, and, after a hard-fought battle in which the Dutch lost many men, four were taken : the other three retreated down the river, but were afterwards stopped and taken possession of. In this engagement we had only two wounded".

One of these, Captain Forrester, subsequently died. The battle of Biderra (between Ghiretty House and Chandernagore) followed : and ended in the total defeat of the Dutch by Colonel Francis Forde.

22. *Zeyau-d-din Khan*, the Imperial "Admiral and Governor" of Hugli.

23. *The Emmer of Bengal*—The nominal Governor of Bengal was Azim-us-shan, the second son of the Emperor Behadur Shah (Shah Alam) but he was away at Lahore, and was represented in the province by his son Farrukh-siyar, then a young man of twenty-eight, who succeeded to the imperial musnud in 1713 and was murdered in 1719. Azim-us-shan was killed in battle with his three brothers, after the death of Shah Alam in 1712.

24. *Gundulparra* : The Danes settled about 1670 or thereabouts at Gondolpara, where the name Dinemardanga still survives : but abandoned the factory in 1714. Fredriksnagore, or Serampore, was founded in 1755.

25. *Culverins and Sakers*—A culverin (Italian *colubro*) was a large cannon, very long in proportion to its bore. The length

ranged from 10 to 13 feet, and the diameter of the bore from 5 to 5½ inches. The weight of the shot varied from 17 to 20 lbs. Names of reptiles were frequently applied to early cannon. A saker was an old form of cannon smaller than a demi-culverin, formerly much used in sieges and on ships. The word in this sense is a transferred use of saker = a large lanner falcon : cf. falconet, musket.

26. *Moexudbath*—Maksudabad or Murshidabad. In 1710 Murshid Kuli Khan (see next note) moved the seat of government from Dacca to Maksudabad (which is said by Tieffenthaler to have been founded by Akbar) and gave the place his own name. He established a mint there and built a palace (Stewart, History of Bengal, 309).

27. *Shallum* or *Shawlam*—Moazzam alias Bahadur Shah or Shah Alam, the second son of Aurungzebe, who succeeded his father in 1710 and died in 1712. There is some confusion here. It was Aurungzebe when Viceroy of the Deccan, who appointed Jafar Khan, otherwise known as Murshid Kuli Khan (Mursed Cola Con) to be his Dewan in 1656 and sent him to Bengal in 1704 as Treasurer and Deputy Governor. He occupied the de facto gadi of Kandahar to a representative of Shahjahan in 1638. Another account has it that he was the son of a poor Brahman who was adopted by a merchant of Ispahan and converted to Islam under the name of Haji Muhammad. Holwell's account of Murshid Kuli Khan is not flattering. (Interesting Historical events relative to the Province of Bengal, 1766, Vol. I, pp. 52, 53).

"In the reign of Farrukhsir Jaffir Khan, an Omrah of great consideration and interest at Court, ruled those provinces (Bengal, Bihar and Orissa) with a rod of iron. His name to this day is remembered with detestation : to fill his coffers he inflicted the most cruel punishments on the Rajahs and Zamindars, by ways and means unheard of and unknown, but in this Eastern Government. He also highly oppressed the Europeans settled in these parts : yet notwithstanding his very maladministration, he had the address to obtain the governments of Behar and Orissa, united with that of Bengal in his person : which ever before had been distinct and separate Nabobships. With this new acquisition of power he removed from Dacca : which until that time had been the chief residence of the Soubhahs, to Morshadabad : and this city now became the capital of the provinces".

28. *Mosidean*—Muazeddin, the eldest son of Shah Alam : took the title of Jahandar Shah on succeeding to the throne in 1712 and was murdered the following year. Holwell's "Mauz o' din".
29. *Kingcarson*—not identifiable under this disguise. The "Anabob at Moxudbath" is, of course, Murshid Kuli Khan.
30. *Holy Beg*—Wali Beg. *Gollbeg Con*, his brother, is not identifiable. In 1711 Zeyau-d-din was deprived of his office in accordance with the representations of Murshid Kuli Khan, and Wali Beg was placed in charge of Hooghly.
31. *Forixear*—Farrukh Siyar. "A good-for-notning and shameless debauchee" who "established a state of terror in the court by his savage fury". (Vincent Smith).
32. *The Chinchury*—Chinsurah. The first Dutch factory adjoined the English factory at Hooghly and was established in 1650. It was swept away by floods and a new factory was built at Chinsurah in 1656.
33. *Sneaker*—a large cup with a saucer and cover : called *Sinigar* by Indian servants from a fancied derivation from *Sini* "Chinaware," but in reality a word of genuine English origin. See quotations in *Hobson-Jobson* (s. v.) from the *Spectator* and Fielding's "Jonathan Wild".
34. *Taris*—Obsolete form of "Terrace".
35. *Malatrusoms*—This is entirely baffling.
36. *Partisan*—a long-handled spear, the blade of which had one or more lateral cutting projections.
37. *Pelows*—pilaus. "The most admired Dainty wherewith they stuff themselves is Pullow"—John Fryer, M. D., "A New Account of India" (London, 1698, p. 393).
38. *The Church of the Paulistans*—The Jesuit Fathers were known as Paulistans from their great College of Sao Paulo de Santa Fe at Goa. According to Father H. Hosten, S. J., who has examined the matter with much care, the Jesuit house at Hooghly never rose to be more than a small "collegium" or residence, with two or three Fathers and occasionally a lay brother. The last Rector, Father George Deistermann, S. J., died in 1740. Abbate Ripa, who came to Hooghly in 1709, describes the church as very pretty. Father Francisco Laynes, S. J., the fifth Bishop of Mylapore, was buried before the High Altar in 1715. At the time of the visit of Father J. Tieffenthaller, S. J., in 1765,

the College was in ruins, and is so indicated in his plan ("Aedes sacra collapsa Soc. Jesu"). "To the N.W.," he writes in his *Description de l'Inde*, "on the very bank of the river a Church and a Convent of the Augustinians may be seen, Going further from there, on the same side, and turning to the W., another Church may be found, dedicated to our Lady, but to-day nearly completely ruined. Of the buildings inhabited by the Jesuits nothing whatever remains". The author of "Asiaticus : in Two Parts" (1803) avers that the foundations of the "Cathedral Church of St. Paul" were to be seen in his day. (The Jesuit Church was, in point of fact, never a Cathedral and was dedicated to our Lady of the Nativity). There are now no traces of either Church or College, but the connexion of the Jesuits with Hooghly, which began in 1640, is perpetuated by the Sao Paulo garden which is in the possession of the Augustinian Fathers of the Bandel Convent. (See articles by Father Hosten in *Bengal Past & Present*: Vol. VI, at p. 218 ; Vol. X. pp. 64-70 ; Vol. XXVI, Part I at p. 77).

39. *Patteraro*—or *Pedrero*, a small gun.

Murderer or *Morderer*—the name given to a small cannon or mortar of the period.

40. *Golgutt*—The name survives in Gholghat, a locality in the centre of the town of Hooghly. The English factory was established in 1650, and after Charnock's migration to Calcutta (Sutanuttee) in 1690, became the headquarters of the "New" or "English" Company until its amalgamation with the old Company in 1704.

41. The Augustinians first settled at Bandel in 1599 : and on August 15 of that year laid the first stone of their Church of Our Lady of the Rosary, the Convent being dedicated to St. Nicholas of Tolentino. Both this Church and the Jesuit Church were destroyed in 1632 when Hooghly was sacked by the "Moors". The author of "Asiaticus : in Two Parts" (1803) who may have obtained his information from the then Prior, says that the Convent was pulled down in 1640 and "rebuilt by that pious gentleman, John Gomes de Soto". Father Hosten (*Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. X. p. 52) holds that the existing Church dates from 1676.

42. This bridge is shown in Father Tieffenthaler's plan of "Hugli Bandar" (1765).

ADDITIONS TO THE TEXT AND FURTHER EXPLANATIONS (From Hakluyt Society edition)

43. *The Braces*, Eastern and Western, are defined by John Ritchie in his MS. *Remarks upon the Coast and Bay of Bengal* (p. 16) as "two hard flats lying to the southward of the Bear-cool shore extending a great way to seaward. They are detached from the land by a tolerable channel of three fathoms water, or more, and they separate Ballasore Road from the entrance of Hugly River". They appear in Thornton's Chart.
44. *Little Swatch*—Thornton's Chart does not show the Swatch unless it be indicated as "The Little Bason" and "The Great Bason". It is thus described by Ritchie in his *Remarks* (p. 41) : "In the bank which lies along the coast of Bengal there is a great pit or cavity, known to commanders of country ships by the name of the Swatch. It is unfathomable according to the usual practice of soundings, for no one has yet found ground in it...its form and extent is not well known, but its situation is south, a little easterly from Roymungull entrance".
45. *Barabullas*—These sands are not shown on the modern Survey Map. They appear in Thomas Bowrey's chart of the Hugli, c. 1676, and are marked on Thornton's Chart. John Ritchie in his *Remarks* thus describes them : "Barrabulla is a sand which forms the west side of the Fairway (I mean the Little Fairway or common tract). It begins about 3 leagues S.b.W. from the Pagoda of Hidgellee and extends S. S. W. about 10 miles. The north end is called the Head and the South end the Tail of Barrabulla".
46. *Indifferent*, signifying fairly (rather, unremarkable) is a favourite word with Burnell.
47. *Long Sand* is marked on Thornton's Chart to the north-east of the Eastern Brace. John Ritchie, in his *Remarks*, observes : "The best and only clear channel into Hugly River lies between Gasper and the Long Sand. It goes from Kidgeree Road directly out to sea without interruption".
48. *Cuckolley Sand*—The Cuckolee of Bowrey's Chart and the Coucolly of Thornton's, later known as Cowcolly (Geonkhali) or Kaukhali, where there is a disused lighthouse. (*Bay of Bengal Pilot*, p. 218).
49. *St. Pedro*. There is no record of the arrival of the *St. Pedro*

at Fort St. George, but the *Diary* of 9 March 1712/13 records her departure from Bengal.

50. *Cojey Surratt*—This is Khwaja Israil Sarhad, destined to play a prominent part in the Embassy to the Emperor Farrukhsiyar in 1715-17. For his proceedings as interpreter at the Mughal Court, see C. R. Wilson, *Early Annals of Bengal*, Vol. II, pt. II, *The Surman Embassy*.

51. *Georgian Violin*—On Burnell's Georgian violin Mr. Gerald Hayes writes: "It may be assumed that this definition was supplied by the Armenian merchant. It is difficult to ascertain the precise nature of the instrument at that period. The Georgian word used today for the violin, Dehianuri, occurs in the contemporary dictionary of Orbeliani: the word itself means, in Georgian, a bow. But a recent Georgian scholar has pointed out that a 'national' as well as a 'foreign' form of the Dehianuri existed. The latter corresponded to the Arabian Kemengeh, from which the former differed, but exactly in what details is not clear. A modern Russian-Georgian dictionary gives as one of the equivalents of "Gusle" (the national bowed instrument of Russia) the word Athdzali which is, literally 'ten-stringed'. This suggests a use of sympathetic strings, a common feature in the East, but hardly known in Europe since the disuse of the viola d'amore".

52. Burnell seems to be using "concise" in its obsolete meaning of "mangled, mutilated".

53. Drone—That is, as bass, the tone emitted by the drone or bass-pipe of a bag-pipe.

54. *Gillingam Sand* or Grand Middle Ground is marked in Thornton's Chart to the west of Channel Creek. Bowrey, in his Chart, spells the word Gillinga, which supports Yule's surmise (*Hedges' Diary*, Vol. III, p. ccvi) that it may be a corruption of "some native name like Jilinga". The term survived, at any rate, until 1767, when Gillingam Point appears in a *Draught of Hughley River* by Alexr. Steuart.

55. Now known as Channel creek or Baratala river (*Bengal Pilot*, p. 227). Ritchie in his *Remarks* tells us that "the country name of Channel Creek is Barratulla".

56. *Mary and Darby*. The *Mary*, Captain Richard Holden, and the *Derby*, Captain Thomas Wotton, had sailed from England for Madras and Bengal, the former at the end of the year 1711 and the latter at the end of the year 1710. Both ships were despatched from "Coxes" (Cox's or Cocks' Islands, since merged

into Sagur Island) on 14 December 1712 and they reached England in August 1713. (*Bengal Public Proceedings*, Vol. II; *Marine Records*, Logs, 653A, 261A).

57. The river....former. Burnell seems to be referring to the channel on the other side of the Gillingam Sands.

58. *Kent*—The *Kent*, a Company's ship, Captain Lawrence Minter, had arrived at Balasore on 30 September 1712. (*Bengal Public Procs*, Vol. II).

59. *Diamond Sand*—A shoal on the western side of the modern Diamond Harbour. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Diamond Harbour. The name now indicates a sand (Lat. 22° 11' N) on the right bank of the Hugli, below Diamond Harbour (*Bengal Pilot*, P. 226).

60. Cuckold's Point, marked on Thornton's Chart, appears in Bowrey's Chart as Diamond Point. See Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, Vol. III, pp. ccviii, ccix, for a note on them.

61. See Sir Wm. Foster's Note to Hamilton's *Account*, Vol. II, P. 4.

62. For Tombelee, now known as the Rupnarain River, see Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, Vol. III, pp. ccix-ccx and note.

63. *Ganges*—Hamilton, Vol. II, p. 4. calls it Ganga and it is shown on Steuart's *Draught* as Ganges River.

64. *Hughley Point*—Hughley River Point is shown on Thornton's Chart opposite Tomberlee Point, now known as Mornington Point.

65. The James and Mary, a sandbank at the junction of the Hugli and Rupnarain rivers, received its name from the wreck of the Company's ship the *Royal James and Mary* on that spot in September 1694. See Bowrey, *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, P. 172, n. 2; Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, Vol. III, pp. cciv, ccx; *Bengal Past & Present*, vol. XXVI, pp. 83-91.

66. *Chocky*—Hind. *Chauki*, a customs house.

67. *Gentoo Raga*—Hindu Raja.

68. The "English Agent, whose name I have forgot" was Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta. For an account of hostilities and negotiations between the English and Shaista Khan, Nawab of Bengal, in 1686-7 (which Burnell calls the "Bengallian War"), see Wilson, *Early Annals of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 91-111.

69. After the para, "Having compliment", add: "Some Account of Calcutta. Mr. Russel Governor—Letter the (...). Sir—In this from Bengal you may expect to receive something

new altogether, having had the opportunity of penetrating the more obscurer parts of India than what I have hitherto treated on, those being the common road of which great numbers of my countrymen have already publish'd different observations". I shall not.

70. John Russell, President and Governor of Fort William, Calcutta, 1711-1713, entered the Company's service in 1693. He died in 1735. For an account of his family and career, see Appendix I. (pp. 155-157) of Hakluyt Society edition.

71. Hercules Courtney—For the story of Hercules Courtney, compiled from Ms. records see Appendix II. (pp. 158-171) of Hakluyt Society edition.

72. Zia-ud-din Khan, Governor of Hugli, appears as "Zoody Cawn" in contemporary English records.

73. Emer of Bengal—Mir Abu Talib.

74. Attrope—The only references to Rasmus Hansen Attrup, "Chief for Affairs of the Royal Company of Denmark", that have been found in the E. I. Co.'s records, are contained in consultations at Fort William on 17 and 21, December 1714, when President Hedges offered his services to mediate a peace between the Danes and the local government at Hooghly. The letters which passed on this occasion are printed by Wilson (*Early Annals of Bengal*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 200-202).

75. Baranagor, about a mile north of Calcutta. See Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, Vol. III, p. ccxvi; Hamilton, Vol. II, pp. 11, 174.

76. The actual date of the settlement of the Danes at Gondalpara, on the Hugli, in the south-east of former French territory at Chandernagore, is uncertain, but a factory was established there by Wolff Ravn in 1710. In the following year he was displaced by Rasmus Hansen Attrup, who came into conflict with the local governor and was compelled to abandon the factory early in 1715. A trace of the settlement still remains in the name Dine-mardanga (the land of the Danes), given to a part of Gondalpara. See Kay Larsen, *De Dansk-Ostendiske Koloniers Historie*, part II, pp. 26-27; *Bengal District Gazetteer, Hooghly*, p. 75; Hamilton, Vol. II, pp. 11, 174.

77. Stupedety—Instead of using the obsolete form "steepiness", Burnell seems to have coined the word "Steeppedety" and his copyist has read his "ee" as "u".

78. Umbarge—Umbrage.

79. Hoffmaster—No other reference to Hoffmaster has been

- found and he is not mentioned by Valentyn. For the history of the Dutch Factory at Chinsura, the present headquarters of Burdwan Division, see *Bengal District Gazetteers—Hooghly*, p. 57.
80. Briag—the word may be a copyist's error for "breach", a term, now obsolete, signifying an assault or attack. In that case the sense would be "the actions in the campaign".
81. *Murshed Cola Con*—After his rise to power, Murshid Kuli Khan was given the title of Jafar Khan, but he was not nominated Viceroy. "Annabob" is *al-Nawab*, i.e., the Governor.
82. Mu'izu-d-Din, eldest son of Shah Alam, who took the title of Jahandar Shah on succeeding to the throne in 1712.
83. *Collbeg Con*—Kuli Beg Khan. This brother of Wali Beg is mentioned by Wilson (*Early Annals*, vol. II, part I, p. 82), but his name is not given.
84. *Markees*—"Marquise" is an old form of "marquee", a large tent (or here perhaps an enclosure surrounded by screens).
85. Slipshod—Meaning that he put on slippers.
86. Hubble-bubble—Hooka.
87. Case-bottle is defined in the *O.E.D.* as "a bottle, often square, made to fit into a case with others; a bottle protected by a case".
88. grando—Grenade, a small shell of iron or glass.
89. target—a small buckler or shield.
90. Rogiomoall—Rajmahal, but the Dutch do not appear to have had a factory at this place. For a description of the Dutch factory at Kasimbazar (Cossimbazar) see *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, vol. I, p. 365.
91. flagstaff—Compare Gautier Schouten's description of the Dutch factory at Chinsura, quoted in *Bengal District Gazetteer—Hooghly*, p. 57; See also a further description in 1721 (*op. cit.*, p. 282).
92. Indifferent—Bowrey, however, in his *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 167, says that "the towne or citty of Hugly is a famous and sumptuous place, adorned with many fine structures".
93. Gate—This was probably the building used as a choultry "or free lodging" house in Bowrey's day (*Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 167).
94. Castle—For the supposed remnants of the fort, built by the Portuguese, see *Bengal District Gazetteer—Hooghly*, p. 272.
95. *Golgutt*. The English factory at Hugli, in existence by 1651,

was established on the river at Gholghat, which comprised the old town of Hugli. A second factory was erected after 1656 a quarter of a mile higher up the river. In hostilities of 1686-7 the old factory was burnt down. After the war Charnock settled at Sutanuti and the factory at Gholghat was practically abandoned. It then became the headquarters of the New (or English) Company until its amalgamation with the Old (or London) East India Company in 1704. Thenceforward the Gholghat factory went gradually out of repair, and in April 1713 the Bengal Council decided to abandon it, seeing that a heavy expenditure would be necessary "to secure it from being washt away by the river". (See *Beng. Dist. Gaz. Hooghly*, p. 273; Wilson, Vol. II, Pt. I, P. 114).

96. Hippochondra—Hypochondriasis, i.e., the vapours, the "blues".

97. Molly—*Mali*, gardener.

98. Compare Bowrey's account of the Bandel (Bandar) at Hugli (*Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, pp. 191-2), where the conditions described are very different from these found by Burnell some thirty-five years later.

99. Pereoe—? Pereira.

100. Add after this para. "I shall now, Sir, proceed to what I before had resolved on, (i.e.) my travels, wherein I shall give you an account of a tour which I made up this river of near 300 miles". Therefore, Sunday....servants, and conclude the para adding, "By four came abreast of Bockboreau¹⁰¹, a small town, half a mile to the northward of which is Penmoree¹⁰², a hamlet and chokey where we took up our station for the night following". (Here ends the manuscript).

101. —Perhaps the Bansbaria of Rennel on the right bank of the river.

102. This place has not been identified.

JAMES MITCHELL

James Mitchell, who was originally clerk to Captain Philip Carteret of H.M.S. *Harwich* and later purser of the *Medways* Prize from 6th May 1748, visited Calcutta in 1747 and 1748. His "Journal of a Voyage to the East Indies in His Majestys Ship *Harwich* of 50 Guns and 350 Men" was found among the papers relating to Indian history collected by John Bruce, author of the "Annals of the East India Company" and Historiographer to the East India Company. Bruce's discovery of the "Journal" is noted by him thus : "In searching an old desk I found the Journal of a Voyage to India in the *Harwich* which had remained at the bottom under other useless Books unnoticed for 50 years past, and that I might amuse a solitary hour with the retrospect of Scenes in early Life I determined to revise, correct and transcribe it with such authentic additions as I could recollect—Being this 2d May 1801 within a few days of my 80th year." This Journal has been transcribed by A. Cassells, I.C.S. and published in the *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. XLV, Part II, Serial No. 90 (April-June 1933), pp. 79-119, retaining the original orthography. We are reproducing only such portions of the Journal that relate to Calcutta. The numerals in square brackets indicate the pagination of the *Bengal Past & Present* under reference.

Harwich sailed from Spithead on 21st February 1745 in the company of *Ipswich*, *Jersey*, *Winchester*, *Ludlow Castle* and *Gosport*, besides nine other East India ships. The fleet was joined by the *Sutherland*, *Lark* and *Torrington* and several merchant vessels from Plymouth. East India Company had applied to the British Government for a naval squadron to protect the English overseas trade and cruise upon the French shipping in the East following the outbreak of the Austrian Succession War in which both Great Britain and France were involved. The fleet was commanded by Rear Admiral Medley.

Dupleix, the French Governor of Pondicherry, had applied to La Bourdonnais at Mauritius to equip a squadron to humble the English in India. La Bourdonnais attacked Madras and Fort St. George capitulated on September 21, 1746 after a feeble

defence. Commodore Barnett, who died on 29th April 1746 had succeeded to the command of the fleet sent out in 1745 under Admiral Medley. Captain Edward Peyton, who suffered Madras to be taken by the French in 1746, had proceeded to Bengal after the death of Barnett. Dupleix, emboldened by the success at Madras, tried in vain to capture Fort St. David, only a few miles south of Pondicherry. A large expedition was fitted out in England, in order to avenge the capture of Madras. It was commanded by Rear Admiral Boscawen, and consisted of not only six ships and as many smaller vessels, but also of land forces some 100 strong. *Harwich* and other ships of the fleet already in India joined the squadron of Admiral Boscawen. His attack on Pondicherry was scarcely managed with more skill than the defence of Madras. He raised the siege of Pondicherry and at the beginning of October 1748 retired to Fort St. David to pass the monsoon. While Boscawen was lying at Fort St. David, news was received of the signing of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle under which Madras was solemnly handed back to the English. Boscawen, therefore, sailed back to Europe.

H. M. S. *Harwich* and other ships of the fleet had sailed up the Hooghly and anchored at Kulpee on 8th September, 1746. After careening and getting reinforcements from Calcutta, the fleet sailed from Hijili on 12th February 1747 to Fort St. David. The fleet moved to Madras on 20th September and retired to Fort St. David in July 1748. *Harwich* and some other ships sailed for Fort William on 5th August 1748, reaching Calcutta early in September. Mitchell was in Calcutta for three months—September, October and November, 1748. He sailed from Calcutta on 28th November and reached England on 29th July, 1749, calling on the way at Fort St. David, Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena.

* * *

JAMES MITCHELL'S ACCOUNT OF CALCUTTA, 1747-48.

That part of Hugly river commonly termed Rogues River¹, where we were moored upwards of three months, is 70 Miles below Calcutta, two from Culpee² and about 4 Miles broad ; here the Ships from England unload their Cargo's into Sloops and other small Craft for Calcutta ; reload part, and compleat their Cargo's for Europe at Ingelee³ 15 miles nearer the mouth of the

River, where it is of great breadth, sufficient depth and easy access to the Sea. Culpee is a small Indian Town under the Government of a Jemandaar⁴, frequented by the Crews of Ships anchord in the road; and often a scene of riot and debauchery, as a Sailor after a long voyage has no limits to his Frolic's when he gets on shore. Four of our young Midshipmen about 16 and 17 years of age, of good Families, particularly recommended to the Captain, and to whom he had been very attentive, having been permitted to go on shore had abused some of the Natives; one died two days after; three others fevered and remained long in a dangerous situation but at last recovered: We had every reason to suspect they had been poisoned, the common way we were told the Females practise to resent the injuries they receive, and at which they are very dexterous; the Natives in general seem inoffensive unless much provoked. The River there abounds with Alligators of a monstrous size, we saw them often on the surface seemingly from 20 to 30 feet long; and often fired Swivel shot at them but with what effect we could not say, as they immediately disappeared. One of them seized a native in the night sleeping in his Dingy (a small boat) at Culpee Creek, and carried him off. The Country is so much infested with Tygers that the windows and doors of the houses or rather Mud hutts of Culpee are every night secured, altho to the exclusion of the cooling breeze most grateful in that warm Climate. The Captains Steward of the *Winchester* sauntering in the twilight was seized by a Tyger within one hundred yards of the Town and carried amongst the Pady (Rice) then in the ear; where his Body was found next morning and the road perceived thro the Pady the Tyger had taken as he came or went; having only sucked the blood, the Natives knew he would return to mangle the Body, therefore they placed two stakes firmly in the ground with a strong Bamboo Bow betwixt them and two arrows drawn to the utmost stretch fixed to the Bow with wooden pins, to which strings were tyed and carried about twenty yards beyond the Body in the Tract he had made, and fastned to a dead Goat; according to expectation he returned, and meeting the dead Goat proceeded to tear him, unfixed the pins, the arrows flew off, one fixed in his shoulder, the other in his belly; he gave a hideous roar; the Natives assured he was wounded soon dispatched him; a large royal Tyger! the skin was purchased by Mr. Holt our 2d. Lieutenant.

The poorer Natives live in mud houses thatched with straw ; the whole Furniture consisting of a mat on which they sleep wrap'd in their Turban unfolded (which with the rag that comes thro' the Thighs fastened to a string round their middle is all their cloaths) and some earthenpots to boil their rice & currie⁵ and a Goblet to hold Water (their only beverage) is the whole Furniture ; some may have a brass Bowl from which they pour the Water into their mouth, never put it to the Lip ; and the Rice put on a mud frame, fitted in a few minutes to the earthen pot that is to boil it, with a small hole in one side to introduce a few dry twigs which they soon kindle, and with the most frugal attention make the whole heat act on the bottom of the pot, and when sufficiently boiled pour off the water and put the rice on a large broad leaf heaped, and having uttered a short Prayer and set apart a small portion as an offering, and washed their mouth and hands ; with the Thumb and two fore Fingers of their right hand (their left being appropriate to unclean purposes) they mix the rice with a very small quantity of prepared Currie and throw as much as will ly on these fingers into their mouth without touching their Lips, and a large quantity they devour, having only two meals a day. They are divided into different Casts or Tribes, each having peculiar customs, and no domestic intercourse with each other from the Bramin Cast, the highest to the Paria⁶ Caste the lowest, which consist of such as have been expelled from the other Casts for misbehaviour ; they are held in the highest contempt, do all the drudgery and being freed from all restraint indulge in every intemperance : So tenacious are the Casts of their Observances that I have known them detained on board by gales of wind for two or three days without tasting meat or drink, as it was contrary to their rules to eat any food but such as was dressed by their own Cast or drink in their own Vessells ; if by accident or design any of their Vessels had been poluted by the touch of those of a different persuasion, it was either broke, or if metal remelted and fashioned anew before again used. Except the Bramins, who seemed lofty and distant, and the Paria's abject & vile, the intermediate Casts, if not desturbed in their religious worship and peculiar customs, appeared to be mild and docile ; much oppressed by their Raja's, Nabobs &ca. who are Mahametans and often fleece and torment them if suspected to have wealth, which makes them carefully conceal any sums they may have saved below ground and it is supposed to be to an amazing

amount in the kingdom of Bengal. The country is perfectly level and by the rains which fall in May June and July entirely covered with water in which the rice grows, the Towns & Farm houses raised on artificial mounds appearing like so many Islands ; during which time I apprehend the wild animals shelter themselves amongst the brushwood on the bank of the River which is raised higher considerably than the adjacent country, and strengthened by continued supply of mud. Amongst other Superstitions some Sects hold the waters of the Ganges sacred and when a person dies or is thought past recovery such person is carried to the Rivers side within high water mark and there left to be overflowed by the Tide, and their bodies are commonly seen floating on the surface, with Kites & Crows preying on them, or swallowed by Alligators ; sometimes the bodies are cast on shore and emit a most intollerable stench until night when the Jackals, Paria Dogs (a wild species) &ca. have them picked clean to the Bone ; they also come into the Towns and Villages and cleanse them of every thing nausious⁷ or offensive before morning, as the Kites, Crows &ca. do through the day, who are therefore never molested & become very impudent, snatching at whatever Victuals is exposed and they can carry off. It was currently reported that the Cook of a India ship carrying some beef Stakes hot from the Gridiron, a Bramin Kite or Buzzard darted down and seized one of the Stakes in his Talons, but by his Fluttering and in vain endeavouring to disengage it, it was evident he suffered smartly for his Theft. I have frequently seen the Crows alight and remain for some time on the womens heads & shoulders but never on the mens. The black Doctors pretend by feeling the pulse to find if you have any disease however latent or secret and to give you a certain cure, but it is only pretence and deceit. Their mutton is small but excellent, as are their Poultry, only their Ducks, which are very cheap, 12 for a Rupee, must be fed with clean hard meat for 10 or 14 days before they are wholesome food, as they are flabby from the Garbage they pick in the Ditches, Tanks &ca. Fish is scarce and bad. I had almost forgot a vile unnatural custom some of the Casts have of turning any of their family that is attacked by a disease that is deemed incurable out of doors, into a small temporary solitary hut, there to expire, as the house where a person dies is reckoned poluted. On landing with some Officers at Culpee creek, at the top of the bank, what to us appeared to be a sows Groove or Sty on look-

ing into it was a young girl of about 8 or 9 years of age, so exposed, quite emaciated with a disentery who looked and moaned so piteously by signs for some meat and drink; that on the Surgeon who was with us giving his approbation we gave her some Bananas which she devoured most greedily, and on her Parents refusing to admit her into their house, and the Surgeon, saying that if carried on board under his care she would at least have a chance for Life, she was carried on board accordingly but expired that night. Her earnest, piteous, complaining looks and cries are still strong in my recollection!

12th February 1747 Sailed from Ingerlee road past the shoals and sands of the River with the Squadron to Fort St. David road where we arrived on the 2d. March without my remarkable occurrence.....

GENTOO'S GRAND ANNUAL FEAST

29th (August, 1748) arrived in Balasore road and proceeded up the river Hughly to Calcutta where found the *Lively* but no account of the French Ships. Possessed a House at Calcutta for three months to make Candles and provide necessaries for the Ship while she was careening, refitting and taking in provisions for the Squadron; during which time, in September, the Gentoo's grand annual Feast was celebrated by every individual that by parsimony and hoarding throughout the year could afford the expence; a great emulation prevailing on that occasion to excell in show and Splendour. At the upper end of a large oblong Hall decorated with figured Chintz⁸ hangings, large wax candles &ca., day being excluded, on a Pedestal raised from the Floor by a flight of Steps under a Canopy with Curtains of rick Silk or Chintz is placed a hideous figure of painted wood superbly dressed with Jewels, Pearls &ca. to represent Jagernaut⁹, their favourite Deity. On each side the Hall are covered Tables with benches furnished with all the delicacies of the Country; and one with the choicest Viands and Liquors for such Europeans as are admitted. When a Gentoo enters he approaches by the Area in the middle of the Hall with much seeming devotion to the foot of the Steps and having made a low obeisance and short Prayer retires to his place at one of the Tables. Music, Dancing Girls with every Festivity that can be devised is exhibited for two days; On the

third the Idol is placed in a Budjero or Barge with a procession of much pomp, accompanied with the country music and embellished with Flags, Streamers &ca. and rowed to the middle of the River, covered with numbers of the same description; the air resounding with music, blazing with Fireworks and roaring with repeated discharges of Cannon until the whole is concluded by loud acclamations on throwing Jagernaut with all his ornaments from each Budjero into the Ganges the water of which is deemed sacred; it would be considered Sacrilege in a Gentoo to touch any of the floating Idols or their ornaments; but Mahometans and other sectarys think it no impiety to strip them of such ornaments as they judge worth saving and afterwards to split and burn the Image. We were often amused with vague accounts of the capture of Pondecherry but a Ship arrived the latter end of November from St. David with certain information that the siege was raised, with the loss of great number of our men by the Enemy and the rainy season; the Troops from Europe being mostly new raised and being obliged to stand in the Trenches half submerged in water, the mortality was very great; indeed it was thought by most People a very improper season to commence the Siege.

Calcutta the principal Settlement and Presidency of the English East India Company at Bengal, is situated on the Bank of one of the branches of the Ganges called Hughly river about 100 Miles from the Sea. The Governors House and Companys Store and Warehouses, surrounded by a high wall without a moat, with Bastions planted with a few Cannon and a Battery of 30 Guns facing the River and a feeble Garrison it may be sufficient to resist a Country, but not a European Force. The Houses of the British, scattered at a small distance from the Fort, and forming a very irregular area in the Center, are elegant, airy and spacious, detached the one from the other; with Gardens producing Fruits, Vegetables and Flowers of the Torrid and many of those peculiar to the temperate Climes. The cool of the morning and evening is appropriated to Excursions in Carriages or on Horse back amongst fine Roads and a level country, the intermediate time to Refection, Business and Amusement. The town of Calcutta is about two Miles north of the Fort, open, without any defence of great extent, and inhabited by Gentoo's, Mahometans, Portuguese, Jews, Armenians &ca. who have each their places of worship as Pagoda's, Mosque's, Churches, adhering to

their own Modes without interference with others or proselytism. The soil marshy and damp must be unwholesome, particularly in the rainy season, and from the vicinity of the River and a very extensive Lake which is about three or four Miles distant & in no part above 18 Inches deep, frequented by innumerable Flocks of wild Geese, Ducks, Teal &ca. where the Sportsman, in a Conoe at dawn of day and sometime after may do great execution. Cold raw Fogs, mostly prevailed during the night while I remained at Calcutta, which dispersing at Sunrise, as the day advances the heat becomes intollerable. During the night also Jackals, with which the Country abounds, and sometimes Tygers, come into and clear the streets of every impurity, the Jackals at times making such a yelling horrid barking noise, in which they are joined by all within hearing, that the whole region resounds ; As the Gentoo's carry their dying and dead within high water mark of the sacred River, numbers of their Bodies floated past every day with Crows upon and picking them ; or if thrown ashore, where they emit a most insufferable stench, the Jackals and paria Dogs in the night clear them to the Bone. To kill a Crow or any of those Animals that are such useful Scavengers would give great umbrage and be resented.

20th November Sailed from Calcutta—at Ingelee road compeated the Cargo of Stores and Provisions.

CAPTAIN CARTERET'S MARRIAGE WITH MISS FITZACKERLY

..../112/ "Miss Fitzackerly an agreeable Girl of a respectable family was Passenger (then about 16 years of age) in one of the Ships we convoyed from England for Bengal where she was to be under the care of a Lady Russell* at Calcutta her Aunt ;

* Lady Russell (Ann Gee, daughter of Zacharia Gee) a Bengal Merchant, was married on the 15th February 1728 to Sir Francis Russell (6th Baronet), Chief at Kasimbazar (1728-1731 and 1741-43 and Member of Council at Calcutta 1731-1741). Sir Francis was a grandson of Frances, the favourite daughter of Oliver Cromwell. On the death of Sir Francis on the 26th February 1743 at Calcutta, Ann (Lady Russell) married a second husband, a Mr. Thomas Holmes, merchant, on the 30th November 1744, and continued to live in Calcutta in her house at the South-east corner of the

Capt. Carteret had often seen her at their dining parties in fine weather during the passage and particularly while at the Cape of Good Hope ; and whether he had then taken an attachment to her or afterwards when he went to Calcutta to visit her while we were in Culpee road, or had been inveigled by Lady Russel a gay artful woman ; so it was, he then married her to the astonishment of every person who knew him particularly his Brother Captains, as she had no remarkable personal attractions, had no fortune, could not imbibe very good principles at Lady Russels, known to be a Woman of extravagance and dissipation where rout succeeded rout ; and he had only acquired three or four hundred pounds more than his Pay ; a trifle to the Sums in Rupees and Pagoda's gambled for at Lady Russels : beside the imprudence of the time when the Enemy was near with a superior Force daily expected. It gave me peculiar pain as I knew that Lord Granville who was at the head of the Ministry when we left England, and to whom he was related, was his Patron, with whom he abode when in London, And by whose influence he was first appointed Capt. of the *Greyhound* and afterwards removed to the *Dolphin* as a better sailer of 20 Guns each, and then to the *Harwich* one of the finest 50 Guns ships in the Navy, and appointed to this Voyage which was thought an advantageous one ; and so much interested was he in his welfare that when fitting at Sheerness and he was attacked with a Fever Lord Granville sent /113/ his own Phisician and one of the Kings Yachts (only appropriate to the Royal Family) to convey him to his Lodging in London that there might be proper care and attention used for his recovery ; it was suggested that on his return to England Lord Granville would not be averse to a match with his youngest Daughter. As I considered myself obliged to him in the highest degree for having taken me for his Clerk at Lisbon in the *Greyhound* when in a very destitute forlorn situation and carried me with him to the different Ships for which he was appointed and always behaved to me with kindness ; he was of genteel polished manners, respected by his Officers and beloved

Green before the fort, with the style and address as Lady Russell. She had to leave Calcutta during its seige by Sirajadulla on the 26th June 1756 for Fulta where she presumably died. Her will dated the 24th August 1756. proved in the Mayor's Court, Calcutta 1757. (Compiled by Bengal Record Room). Note on Page 112.

by his Ships Company ; but after his marriage the cause of being particularly disgusted was, having sent for his wife when we arrived at Fort St. David which was deemed our rendezvous¹⁰ ; Mr. Griffin ordered him on a cruize for upwards of a month, where any other ship in the squadron would have answered as well, immediately after Mrs. Carteret landed, and would not, altho requested, allow her to go with him ; it was thought by all, a rough, not to call it rude disciplinarian exercise of Power, and gave the first rise to that antipathy which with concurrent causes, the Captains ever after bore towards him. I am sorry to say that after that time Captain Carterets disposition altered much ; from a chearful social disposition he acquired a distant peevish temper with encreased, as he was deprived of his Command to go home in the *Preston* (to prevent interruption it is noticed here altho after in point of date) to be evidence in a Court martial to be held on Capt. Peyton ; which together with the idea that he had lost Lord Cranville's favour by his marriage preyed on his Spirits and occasioned the Decline that afterwards terminated in death.

..../119/ "Capt. Carteret and his Wife came Passengers in the *Winchester*, and as he was far gone in a decline he was advised to go to Bristol for the benefit of the Waters where he soon after died, and his wife returned to India and was again married".

NOTES

1. Rogues River—Chingri Khal or Kulpi Creek.
2. Culpee—Kulpi.
3. Ingelee—Hijili.
4. Jemandaar—Jemadar.
5. Currie—Curry.
6. Paria—Paraiah (outcaste).
7. Nausious—Noxious.
8. Chintz—Printed cotton.
9. Mitchell is mistaken here : the image is that of goddess Durga.
10. Rendezvous—*read* rendezvous.

EDWARD IVES

Ives's *A VOYAGE FROM ENGLAND TO INDIA IN THE YEAR MDCCLIV* was published in 1773. The full title of the book is : "A Voyage from England to India in the Year MDCCLIV. And an Historical Narrative of The Operations of the Squadron and Army in India, under the Command of Vice-Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, in the years 1755, 1756, 1757 ; including a correspondence between the Admiral and the Nabob *Serajah Dowlah*. Interspersed with some interesting passages relating to the manners, customs, &c. of several nations in Indostan. Also, a Journey from Persia to England by an unusual Route, with an Appendix ; containing an Account of the Diseases prevalent in Admiral Watson's squadron : A description of most of the Trees, Shurbs and Plants, of *India*, with their real, or supposed, medicinal virtues ; Also a copy of a letter written by a late ingenious Physician, on the Disorders incidental to *Euro-peans* at *Gombroon*, in the Gulph of *Persia*. Illustrated with a Chart, Maps, and other coppër-plates" by Edward Ives, Esq., Formerly Surgeon of Admiral Watson's ship, and of his Majesty's Hospital in the *East Indies*, London, printed for Edward & Charles Dilly, MDCCLXXIII—4to. The book is dedicated to Sir Charles Watson, Bart, son of Admiral Watson. The following biographical details are taken from the *Dictionary of National Biography* (Vol. X, P. 516).

"IVES, EDWARD (d. 1786), surgeon and traveller, served in the navy as surgeon of the *Namur* in the Mediterranean from 1744 to 1746, and returned to England in the *Yarmouth*. He was afterwards for some time employed by the commissioners for sick and wounded, and from 1753 to 1757 was surgeon of the *Kent*, bearing the flag of Vice-Admiral Charles Watson as commander-in-chief in the *East Indies*. On the admiral's death in August 1757, his own health being somewhat impaired, he resigned his appointment, and travelled home overland from Bussorah, through Baghdad, Mosul, and Aleppo, thence to Cyprus to Leghorn, and Venice, and so home through Germany and Holland, arriving in England in March 1759. He had no further service in the navy, but continued on the half-pay list till 1777, when he was super-

annuated. During his later years he resided at Titchfield in Hampshire, dividing his time, apparently between literature and farming. He died at Bath on 25 September 1786 (*Gentleman's Magazine* 1786, vol. lvi, pt. ii, P. 908). In 1773 he published "A Voyage". Ives's presence at many of the transactions which he describes and his personal intimacy with Watson gave his historical narrative an unusual importance, and his accounts of the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and of the products of the countries he visited, are those of an enlightened and acute observer. Ives married about 1751 Ann, daughter of Richard Roy of Titchfield, by whom he had issue a daughter, Eliza, and three sons, the eldest of whom, Edward Otto, was in Bengal at the time of his father's death; the second, Robert Thomas, had just been appointed to a writership; the third, John Richard, seems to have been still a child. (Will in Somerset House, 29 March 1780, proved in London, 1787). Mention is also made of a sister, Catty Ives. (Beyond his own narrative, nothing is known of his life, except the bare mention of his appointments in the official books preserved in the Public Record Office)".

* * *

IVES, 1756-57

DISASTER IN CALCUTTA, 1756: "Many were the opinions that prevailed in *India*, concerning the disaster at *Calcutta*; let it suffice to observe, that the conduct of the governor was universally blamed in abandoning the fort so precipitately; while the courage and resolution of Mr. *Holwell*, who, with the assistance of a few gallant officers and a feeble garrison, defended it for several days after the other had left it, could not fail of being much applauded. There were persons however at *Calcutta*, who would not allow any share of praise to be due to these gentlemen; for they insisted, that their having defended the fort, was a matter of necessity, not of choice; and that both Mr. *Holwell* and his officers would have followed the governor on board the ships, had there been any boats left to carry them off." (p. 93).

"On the 29th of December (1756), at six o'clock in the morning, the admiral having landed the company's troops the evening before at *Mayapore*, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel *Clive*, cannonaded *Bouge Bougee* fort, which was strong and built of mud, and had a wet ditch round it." (p. 99).

1st February, 1757. While Suraj-ud-doula was marching towards Calcutta, "the colonel (Clive) formed his camp on a spot of ground near the river, about four miles to the northward of Calcutta, between it and the Nabob's army : indeed Calcutta was then not defensible, the fort had no ditch, its bastions did not deserve the name, and there were houses so near the fort as to command the few fortifications it had". (p. 110).

"While the colonel was in search of a proper place for an encampment, a wild buffalo ran at his guard ; and although the Sepoy it attacked, discharged his musket ball into its body, and received it on his bayonet, yet the creature killed the man, and made off. The wild buffaloes are here very large ; they exceed the largest ox in England, and have legs remarkably thick and strong : their horns lie on their back as they walk ; their head being in an horizontal posture ; but when they feed, their horns stand erect". (Note on page 110).

"Omichund was a man of the deepest cunning and most insatiable avarice, and strongly suspected to have been the principal person that fomented the late troubles against the English, in hopes of pecuniary advantages to himself : Mr. Watts did not sufficiently know the man till too late. Omichund, after the plot was so far advanced, that a treaty was just on signing with Meer Jaffier, unreasonably demanded a quarter part of all the Nabob's treasure, which was supposed to amount to 64 Crore, or 80 millions sterling. His final terms were 30 Lack of Rupees for himself, by a special article in the treaty ; and he made no scruple to assure Mr. Watts, that if his demand was not complied with, he would instantly inform the Nabob of our schemes, when every Englishman within his reach would certainly be put to the severest death. In this dilemma, Mr. Watts applied to Meer Jaffier, who was determined not to accede to such terms, if any means of obviating them could be devised. Mr. Watts then wrote to the select committee, who seeing that the fate of all depended upon temporizing with Omichund, and being at the same time very averse to submit to the extortions of such a consummate rogue, contrived two treaties should be executed and sent up to Meer Jaffier, who was to be let into the secret. One treaty was the real one to be abided by ; the other was fictitious, but with no other difference than that it contained the article of 30 Lack for Omichund. The real treaty was executed privately by Meer Jaffier ; the fictitious treaty was executed also by him, and in the presence of Omichund, who

was thereupon perfectly satisfied. It may be necessary here also to observe, that this fictitious treaty was signed by Colonel *Clive* and all the select committee : Admiral *Watson* did not chuse to sign it, because he had signed the real treaty. A strict principle of delicacy, which in him was superior to any point of policy, operated too strongly on his mind to permit him to join even in a necessary deception of this nature : however, while he manifested no displeasure against the actors, all classes of people, from their knowledge of *Omichund's* avarice and treachery, applauded the artifice by which he was so deservedly outwitted". (pp. 146-147).

Admiral *Watson* died on August 16th, Tuesday, 1757, between 8 and 9. "The next day, his corpse was buried at *Calcutta*, attended to the grave, by Admiral *Pocock*, by all the captains, and by almost every officer and seaman of the squadron. Colonel *Clive* too, and as many gentlemen from the army as could possibly be spared, attended on this melancholy occasion. Many *French* gentlemen also (who through the fortune of war were his prisoners) and several thousands of *Armenians* and *Indians* followed him to his grave ; nor was there, I believe, an individual among them all, that did not shed a tear, or give some other mark of unfeigned sorrow. In a word, no man ever lived more esteemed, or died more regretted than Admiral *Watson*. A voluntary universal mourning, displayed in some degree the deep sense which the fleet, army, and settlement, had of his merit". (p. 178).

ADJUTANT BIRD : "In the evening excursions which I made with Captain *Martin*, Mr. *Doidge*, Mr. *Thomas*, and other friends near *Calcutta*, we had often observed an extraordinary species of birds, called by the natives *Argill*, or *Hurgill*, a native of *Bengal*. They would majestically stalk along before us, and at first we took them for *Indians*, naked. Upon discovering however that they were birds, we resolved to shoot one, to satisfy our curiosity relative to their exact magnitude and shape. For this, we frequently went out with some of our fulfils loaded with ball, others with *Bristol* drop ; but, though we had several good marks, our repeated efforts were fruitless. We had always been attended by the *Bearers* of our *Palanquins*, in whose countenances we could not but discern the most evident marks of satisfaction, on our want of success ; at length one of them gravely told us, "That if we tried to eternity to kill these birds, we should never succeed, for that the souls of the *Brahmins* possessed them". We

at last grew weary of the pursuit, and gave it over. But one evening as I was returning from *Calcutta*, to a house which had been lent me in the neighbourhood, I observed one flying very slowly over my head, and afterwards to perch on a tree by which I was to pass; I took not the least notice to my *Bearers*, until they were within the distance of 30 or 40 yards, when I ordered them to stop, and having in my *Palanquin* a loaded fulfil, I discharged it at the *Monster*, and brought him down.

"The following are the exact marks and dimensions of this bird: The wings expanded 14 feet 10 inches. From the tip of the bill to the extremity of the claw, it measured 7 feet 6 inches. The legs were naked, and so was one half of the thighs; the naked parts were full 3 feet in length. The feathers of the wings and back were very strong, and of an iron colour. The feathers of the breast were long: Over the belly was a great deal of down, all of a dirty white. The bill was 16 inches round at the base, of different colours, and nearly of a triangular shape. In the *craw* was a *Terapin* or land tortoise 10 inches long; and a *large black male cat* was found entire in it's stomach" (pp. 183-184).

RUSSA: "Near *Calcutta* is a large spreading tree called the *Russa*, which makes a fine appearance when in full bloom. The natives say that this, and another near the *Dutch* settlement, are the only two in *Bengal*; they pretend likewise that they could never find the seed, which must certainly be a mistake, because there is abundance, and large. That they could not preserve them may be true, because the ants and other vermin are excessively fond of them, so that you can never find a pod untouched either by insects within, or ants; Mr. *Thomas* attended the tree daily for a considerable time to procure a whole pod, but in vain. The bark is brown and rough; the leaves are a deep green, but bright; they are pinnated, 4 pair and an odd one, or 5 pair on every pinna; several of these grow round every branch, which makes the whole bushy. The flower grows out between the lower leaves of the pinnae, on a short but strong footstalk; this divides and subdivides into a greater number, so as to make the whole a hemisphere. On the top of each of these, is a flower of a bright crimson, orange, and different shades down to yellow; they are monopetalous; the cup is about an inch long, divided above in four, ten stamina, and one style: they almost cover the tree, and there is a long succession of them, but little smell. The fruit is a pod of the shape and size of a large garden bean, con-

taining 4 or 5 large fleshy seeds, which easily fall in two when dry ; they are brown on the outside, white within, nearly square, but convex on the sides" (p. 185).

ENLARGEMENT OF FORT WILLIAM : "The latter end of *October* (1757), the *Indian* inhabitants near *Calcutta*, were ordered by the governor and council to remove from the black town, and to build houses for themselves on another spot, at a greater distance from the fort. This was owing to the governor and council's resolution in consequence of Colonel *Clive's* advice, to enlarge and well secure *Fort William*, which could not be done, whilst the *Indian* town was standing. It must be owned, that the natives received but a short notice to remove themselves and families ; but certain intelligence having been received, that the country *Rajahs* were assembling troops with a view of disputing the late acquired authority of *Meer Jaffier*, it was therefore thought indispensably necessary that the fortress should with the utmost expedition be put on a much more respectable footing, than what it had ever heretofore been". (pp. 185-186).

CURRENCY : "Accounts are here kept in imaginary or current *Rupees*, *Annas*, and *Pices*.

The *Rupee* is valued in the company's cash at 2 *s.* 3 *d.*

16 *Annas* make a *Rupee*.

12 *Pices* make an *Anna*.

Cowry shells are also current here on account of the cheapness of provisions ; these vary as to their value, from 4000 to 4800 to the *Rupee*, as hath already been noticed.

It must also be observed that the *Arcot* and *Pondicherry Rupees* have an advance or *Batta* of 8 *per Cent.* over the current *Rupees*.

Those of *Bombay* have a *Batta* of 10 *per Cent.*

New *Siccas* or *Royal Rupees* have a *Batta* of 20 *per Cent.* But the latter lose in their value 2 *per Cent.* every year, until they are recoined." (p. 186).

HOSPITALITY : "In truth, the hospitality and generosity shewn to strangers in general in this country, are beyond expression ; nor is it possible to point out a part of the world where the spirit of charity is more nobly exerted than in our *East India Company's* settlements : numerous instances might be mentioned, where princely subscriptions have in a few hours been raised, and applied to the effectual relief of many unfortunate families". (p. 187)

MEDICAL & CHIRURGICAL OBSERVATIONS : "On board the *Protector* an occasional ship in *Bengal* river, and at the hospital at *Calcutta*, between the 25th of *December* 1756, and the 8th of *February* 1757, we received 455 patients from the king's ships, of whom 72 were in the worst stage of the scurvy, 27 in convulsions of the bowels from a scorbutic case, co-operating probably with the muddy water of the river ; 12 in putrid fevers, and the remaining 104 were ill of various disorders, all of which, except a few cases of surgery, partook of the scurvy. Out of the whole number received into hospital here, I find, that at the close of the first quarterly account, we buried 27 men ; a particular mention of the number of the dead, may be proper to exhibit a comparative view of the mortality attending the diseases of the squadron in *Bengal*, and our other settlements in *India*. Here my former observations respecting the difference of seasons, once more holds good, for these being the winter months, the scorbutic disorders greatly increased, while those of bilious kind decreased in the same proportion. (p. 445)

"At *Calcutta*, between the 8th of *February* 1757 and the 7th of *August* following, we received into the hospital 1140 patients, of whom 54 were ill in scurvies, 302 in bilious fevers, 109 in intermittents, 16 in measles, 32 in bilious and bloody fluxes, 56 in bilious cholics, 21 in venereal complaints ; and 155 were chiral cases. Out of the whole number we buried 52 men. It is necessary here to observe, that much the greater part of this time, the weather was exceedingly hot and dry ; consequently, during that season, bilious diseases were most predominant : afterwards, when the rains had set in, the intermittents began to make their appearance. (pp. 445-446)

"At the same place, between the 7th of *August* 1757, and the 7th of *November* following, (during the greater part of which period, the weather being sultry and rainy), we received into the hospital 717 fresh patients, besides 430 who were there before ; so that in the whole we had in this interval 1147 on shore. Among the 717 which were taken in last, there were 20 only in scurvies, 147 in putrid fevers, 304 in intermittent fevers, 19 in putrid bloody fluxes, 155 in putrid fluxes ; 10 in bilious obstructions, 6 in inflammations of the bowels ; 6 in consumptions, and 19 cases of surgery. The 41 unaccounted for, were made up of men labouring under various disorders, but such as in general discovered a putrescent disposition in the constitution. Out of the

whole number that were in the hospital at this time, we buried 101, which added to those we had before lost in the *Protector*, and in the hospital, since our arrival in the river, (which took in no more than 10 months and 13 days) make our whole loss to amount to 180. And this is exclusive of such as had been slain in battle, or who had died on board their respective ships before a provision had been made for their reception in the *Protector*, or on shore. So that (as will soon be shewn) the number of men buried in *Bengal*, amounted to more than half of all who died in the several hospitals in *India*, during the whole time of Admiral *Watson's* command, and for some short time after his death, including a period of three years, one month, and 14 days. (p. 446).

... "I shall now produce as exact an account as our hospital books will admit, of every patient received at different times into the several hospitals in *India*, from the 13th of *September* 1754, to the 7th of *November* 1757, which includes the whole of the time they were under my care ; and to each particular disease, I shall put the number of those who died in it. The whole number received into the hospitals, amounted to 6062. Among these, there were ill in

Fluxes, under different names 1819, of whom died 97.

Scurvies 1103, died 11.

Fevers of different sorts 900, died 42.

Intermittents 547, died 17.

Bilious obstructions 536, died 10.

Rheumatisms 103, died 2.

Inflamations of the bowels 83, died 5.

Consumptions 47, died 3.

Bilious colics 62. Measles 16. Inflammation of the eyes 24.

Coughs 24. Spitting of blood 7. Pleurisies 28. Died 11.

Asthmas 14, died 1.

Quinsies 8. Convulsive fits 5. Suppression of urine 3.

Cutaneous eruptions 6. Palsey 1. Hemorrhoides 4. Itch 4.

Worms 7.

Dropsy 2. Gravel 33. Died 1.

Weaknesses from various preceding diseases 57, died 1.

Veneral cases 58, died 2". (pp. 446-47).

The following chirurgical cases must be added.

Ruptures 18, died 1.

Ulcers 166, died 2.

Contusions and other common accidents 147, died 5.

Dislocated and fractured bones 28, died 1.

Gunshot wounds 131, died 17.

Stumps after limbs amputated 15, died 9.

Blown up by gunpowder 13. died 3. Scalds 4.

"By the foregoing account, the number of dead amounts to 241 ; but besides these, there were also 87 persons who died chiefly in fluxes, fevers, intermitting, or bilious disorders : but as at the time of their deaths they stand on the hospital books under the article of "sundry persons remaining for a considerable while in the hospital in various diseases ;" so at this time it is not practicable to exactly ascertain what were their respective complaints, or to fix a name to those disorders that carried them off" (pp. 446-447).

"Next to *Bencoolen*, of all the English factories, the climate of *Bengal* proves the most fatal to *Europeans*. The rainy season commences at *Bengal* in *June*, and continues till *October* ; the remainder of the year is healthy and pleasant" (quoted from Dr. Lind's book, p. 78, by Ives, p. 447).

"During the rains, this rich and fertile country is quite covered by the *Ganges*, and converted as it were into a large pool of water. In the month of *October*, when the stagnated water begins to be exhaled by the heat of the sun, air is then greatly polluted by the vapours from the slime and mud left by the *Ganges*, and by the corruption of dead fish and animals. Diseases then rage, attacking chiefly such as are lately arrived. Here, as in all other places, sickness is more frequent and fatal in some years than others. The distempers are fevers, of the remitting or intermitting kind : for though sometimes they may continue several days, without any perceptible remission, yet they have in general a greater tendency to it, and are commonly accompanied with violent fits of rigors and shiverings, and with discharges of bile upwards and downwards. If the season be very sickly, some are seized with a malignant fever, of which they soon die. The body is covered with blotches of a livid colour, and the corpse in a few hours turns quite black and corrupted. At this time fluxes prevail, which may be called bilious or putrid, the better to distinguish them from others which are accompanied with an inflammation of the bowels. In all diseases of *Bengal*, the lancet is cautiously to be used". (Dr. Lind quoted by Ives on Page 448).

JOHN HENRY GROSE

John Henry Grose's *A VOYAGE TO THE EAST INDIES WITH OBSERVATIONS ON VARIOUS PARTS THERE* (pp. 407) was first published in one 8vo. volume in London in 1757. It was printed for S. Hooper and A. Morley, at Guy's Head, near Beaufort-Buildings in the Strand and was dedicated to George Montagu, Earle of Cardigan. There is *nothing on Calcutta*. However, it gives a good account of Bombay. The first edition contains 17 chapters and has no illustrations. A new edition of Grose's "*A Voyage to the East Indies; containing Authentic Accounts of the Mogul Government in general, the viceroyalties of the Deccan and Bengal, with their several subordinate dependences—Of Angria, the Morattoes, and Tanjoreans—Of the Mahometan, Gentoo, and Parsee Religions—Of their Customs and Antiquities, with the general reflections on the Trade of India of the European Settlements, particularly those belonging to the English; their respective Factories, Governments, Trade, Fortifications and Public Buildings; the History of the war with the French from 1754 to the conclusion of the General Peace in 1763*" was published in two volumes, in London, in 1766. A third edition was also published in two volumes by S. Hooper, at No. 25 Ludgate Hill, London, "illustrated with views and several plans, not in the former editions, to which is added a Journey from Aleppo to Busserah, over the Desert, by Mr. Charmichael". He was never in Calcutta and his accounts of the political developments in Bengal are entirely based on contemporary records. The *Dictionary of National Biography* (VIII, p. 717) gives the following details about Grose.

"GROSE, JOHN HENRY (fl. 1750-1783), civil servant of the East India Company, younger brother of Francis Grose (1731-1791, antiquarian and draughtsman), left England in March 1750 for Bombay, 'in the station of a covenant servant and writer to the East India Company'. He had the good fortune to be recommended by a director in London to a nephew of the governor of Bombay; his introduction to the new mode of life was made easy to him, and he would seem to have been afforded unusual

opportunities, which a faculty for observation enabled him to turn to good account. In 1757 he published 'A Voyage to the East Indies', in one vol., and in 1766 a second edition in 2 vols., (8vo), with a history of the war, 1756-1763, and etchings by his brother Francis. A third edition was published in 1772. The first edition gives a good account of Eastern manners and customs, then little known, and the work has been made the basis of many popular accounts. It is said to have been compiled from Grose's notes by John Cleland. A French translation by Philippe Fernandez was published in London in 1758. Grose, who was a member of the Society of Arts, lived at Richmond Surrey, in 1783. By his wife, Sarah Smalley, daughter of John Browning, a woolstapler, of Barnaby street, Southwark; he left son John who is noticed separately. (A Voyage to the East Indies; Gentleman's Magazine, 1791, lxi, part 1, P. 493)"

The description of the revolution in Bengal that follows here is taken from Grose's *Voyage*, 3rd edition (1772). It is included here for the sake of recapitulating the political history.

* * *

THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE KINGDOM OF BENGAL, IN THE YEARS 1756 and 1757.

(Grose, II, Book viii, pp. 233-267)

Chapter I. *A description of Bengal; with an account of Calcutta and Fort William, the English Presidency in that Kingdom. The Viceroy Surajad Dowla takes the field against the English. and reduces their fort at Cossimbuzar: he besieges and takes Calcutta. His cruelty to the English in Fort William; and the sufferings of the unhappy persons confined in the black-hole, where only twenty-three survived out of 146.*

/233/ I have before observed, that the Mogul empire consists of three grand divisions, of the Indostan, the Deckan, and Bengal: as also that the first is governed by the emperor himself, and the other two by his viceroys, who apparently profess an allegiance to him, but really act as independent sovereigns. The Suba (or soubah), or viceroy of Bengal, had also the provinces

of Bahar and Orixá annexed to his government, and acted in every respect as an absolute prince.

BENGAL is the most eastern province of the Mogul's dominions, and is annually overflowed by the Ganges, as Egypt is by the Nile. It lies upon /234/ the mouth of the Ganges, and is bounded by the Provinces of Patna and Jesnat on the north ; the kingdom of Aracan on the east ; the bay of Bengal and the province of Orixá on the south ; and by provinces of Narvar and Malva on the west ; extending about 400 miles in length from east to west, and 300 in breadth from north to south.

The bay of Bengal is the largest and deepest in the known world, extending from the south part of Coromandel to the river Huegley (or Huguley) ; in which space it receives the great rivers Ganges and Guena from the west side ; as also the Arakan and Menamkiori or Avat river from the east side. But Bengal, as a coast, is supposed to extend only from Cape Palmiras on the north coast of Golconda, to the entrance into the Ganges. That river rises in the mountains of Nigracut, part of Great Tartary, receives many other rivers, and after a course of 3000 miles, falls into the Gulph of Bengal by so many mouths, that travellers are not agreed in the number of them : however, the common passage for European shipping is up by the river Huegley, one of the most western branches.

The foreign and domestic trade of Bengal are very considerable ; as may appear from the great number of Persians, Abyssinians, Arabs, Chinese, Guzarats, Malabarians, Turks, Moors, Jews, Georgians, Armenians, and merchants from all parts of Asia, who resort there. All the Christian nations established in the East-Indies also send their shipping to Bengal ; and it is with the merchandizes of this country that they partly make their returns to Europe, besides what they export for their India trade. The principal merchandizes at Bengal are silks, cotton-cloths, pepper, rice, salt-petre, wood /235/ for dying, terra merita, lacca, yellow and white wax, indigo, camphor, aloes, and gum gutta.

The places of the greatest commerce, and where the English, French, and the Dutch have their best establishments are Calcutta, Cossimbuzar, Huegley, Pipeley, and Balisore. The capital of the viceroy is Muxadabad, which is large and populous : and Fort William, or Calcutta, is the principal place belonging

to the English Company in Bengal ; of which I have given a particular account in the first volume.*

The capital city of the kingdom of Bahar, is Patna, which lies in 85 degrees of east longitude, and 26 of north latitude, upwards of 400 miles from Calcutta. It extends seven miles in length upon the banks of the Ganges, and is half a mile broad ; so that it contains many thousands of inhabitants, and is a place of great trade for salt-petre and opium. Mr. Robert Eyre was the English chief here ; but the company withdrew their factory in this city in 1750. It consisted of a chief, three council, and two assistants ; with a lieutenant and forty soldiers under his command. It was thought very strange that the company should relinquish this factory, while they were able to transport the commodities of Bahar safely down the Ganges, since the destruction of the Morattoes on the banks of that river : and more especially as the company had great influence with the Nabob, who had then no other European factory in his government. If frauds were committed in that factory, they ought to have been detected ; not the factory to be lost by us, to give the French an opportunity of succeeding in the settlement. Mr. Cole obtained a pension ; and Mr. Robert Eyre was dismissed the service ; though it appears by Mr. Eyre's address to the company in 1753, that he had shewn they suffered a loss amounting to upwards of 100,000 *l* by em-/236/-bezzlements, false entries, and bad conduct at Patna.

ORIXA has such bad ports, that little trade is carried on there.

The richness and fertility of Bengal, with the safe and extensive navigation of the Ganges, shew the importance of the settlements within these limits ; and have engaged the trading companies of the maritime nations in Europe to establish factories upon the Ganges ; which will be better seen by the following account of the villages on each shore, so far as they serve to convey an idea of the interest of the English company.

The first town on the Hugley is Culculla, a good market for coarse cloth ; as also for corn, oil, and other produce of the country. A little higher is the Dutch Bankshall, or place where

*There is no such account in the first edition and the third edition which were consulted by this compiler.

their ships ride, when the currents prevent their getting up the river. From Culculla and Juanpardo, two large deep rivers run to the east ; and on the west side there is another that runs by the back of Huegley Island to Radnagor, famous for manufacturing cotton cloth, and silk romaals or handkerchiefs : and on the same river is grown the greatest quantity of sugar in Bengal. Ponjelly, a little market town for corn, stands somewhat higher on the east bank of Huegley river, and exports great quantities of rice : and about a league above Ponjelly, was a pyramid, which served for a landmark or boundary of the English-East India Company's settlement of Calcutta, that is about a league higher up.

At this time Calcutta was a very flourishing place, and the presidency of the English company in Bengal. It was situated on the most westerly branch of the Lesser Ganges, in 87 degrees of east longitude, and $22^{\circ} 45'$ of north latitude ; 130 miles north-east of Balisore, and 40 south of Huegley. /237/ The governor resided in Fort William ; having six council, and other officers, as at Madras and Bombay ; to whom all the other English factories at Huegley, Pibley, Dacca, and Balisore were subordinate. The town was large, fair, and populous ; being inhabited by many private English merchants, and several rich Indian traders, who supplied the company with the commodities of the country. The fort was strong, and had a garrison of Europeans and sepoys. The plan of it was an irregular tetragon, built with brick, and mortar called puckah, made of brick-dust, lime, molasses, and hemp, which becomes as hard and durable as stone. The governor's house was within the fort ; and was a handsome, regular structure. There was also convenient lodgings for the factors, storehouses for the company's goods, and magazines for their ammunition. The company had also good gardens and fish-ponds ; with an hospital for the sick. On the other side of the river there were docks for repairing and careening the ships ; near which the Armenians had a good garden. All religions were tolerated here : the Pagans carried their idols in procession ; the Mahommedans were not discountenanced ; and the Roman Catholics had a church. About fifty yards from the fort was the English Church, built by the contributions of the merchants and seamen who came to trade there. The English had the Mogul's permission to settle at Calcutta in 1690 ; and Mr. Job Channock, the company's agent in Bengal, pitched upon

that spot, for the sake of a large shady grove which grew there : but it was the worst place he could have marked out ; for three miles to the north-east there is a salt-lake, which overflows in September ; and when the flood retires in December, there is such a prodigious quantity of fish left behind, that they putrify and infect the air. Besides the Gentoos worship the Ganges, /238/ and bring their sick people to its banks, to die near it : they entirely burn the bodies of the rich ; but only disfigure those of the poor with the flames, and throw them into the river, where they float in great numbers, and are preyed on by the crows.

Calcutta was generally garrisoned by 300 Europeans, who were frequently employed in conveying the company's vessels from Patna, loaded with salt-petre, piece goods, opium, and raw silk : for as the company held the settlement immediately of the Mogul, they were under no apprehensions of being dispossessed. Indeed, the Rajas, whose governments extend along the Ganges, between Cossimbuzar and Patna, had sometimes interrupted that navigation, and endeavored by force of arms to exact the payment of certain duties for all merchandize that passed on the coast : but their force had been suppressed, and no farther danger was dreaded from them.

The trade of Bengal supplied rich cargoes for fifty or sixty ships yearly ; besides what was carried in smaller vessels to the adjacent countries ; and the article of salt-petre only was become of such great consequence to the European powers, that every thing was attempted by the French and Dutch to deprive the English of that advantage. For this reason it was greatly to be suspected that these rivals in trade had spirited up the new viceroy to extirpate the English factories within his dominions, under various slight pretences, of being treated with disrespect by governor Drake ; of a right to certain duties, which were refused by the company ; and for giving protection to the Moors.

The viceroy Alverdeikam died on the 4th of May 1756, and was succeeded by his nephew Surajud Dowla*, who behaved in a very tyrannical /239/ manner to all persons, and particularly to those of distinction, whose effects were seized, and the European nations forbid to afford them any protection or retreat ; with which orders the French and Dutch strictly com-

*The French call him Saradjot Dollah.

plied : but the English incurred the resentment of the viceroy, by imprisoning a rich Indian at Calcutta, who had been of great service to their company. His name was Omychund, an eminent Gentoo merchant, who had lived several years in the district of Calcutta, under the protection of the English company, and was now imprisoned by governor Drake. In 1747, the English were in such a bad situation here, that they had no money, and had stretched the company's credit as far as it would then bear : they had also a large provision of goods to make ; and that part of the investment alone, to be provided at Calcutta, exclusive of the subordinates, amounted to 2,400,000 rupees. The whole body of merchants declared, they were incapable of furnishing the English with any goods, unless the ready money was to be advanced : but what most perplexed the factory was, their orders from England, expressly forbidding them to employ Omychund as a Dadney merchant. These orders arrived just at this time, when he was not only one of the company's principal creditors, but was the only man that could be of any service at that juncture, by his interest and influence abroad. However, Omychund was prevailed on to go to the council, and tell them, that, though the company was angry with him, he was always ready to serve them, and was then willing to contract for one-third of the whole investment ; for which he would be paid on delivery of the goods, or receive bonds bearing interest, if they had no money in the treasury ; which proposal created such an envy and emulation among the other merchants, that the English happily accomplished the cargoes /240/ of four ships. However, this wealthy Indian was imprisoned at Calcutta, which gave the viceroy a pretence of marching his army towards that place.

The viceroy took the field, on the 30th of May 1756, with an army of 30,000 horse ; 40,000 foot ; 400 elephants. On the 2d of June, he detached 20,000 men to invest the English fort at Cossimbuzar*, a large and mercantile town, situated upon an island formed by the west branch of the Ganges, two miles below Muxadabad, 60 west of Dacca, and 70 miles north of Huegley, which stands about 100 miles up the mouth of the river. The English, French, and Dutch had factories here. The country about it was very fertile, and the inhabitants remarkably industri-

* Or Cassimbuzzar.

ous, being employed in many useful manufactures. They generally furnished 22,000 bales of silk a year, each bale weighing 100 lb. They have also taffeties, and the most beautiful cotton-cloths of the country.

The English fort was small, but regularly built; had 60 cannon mounted, and was garrisoned by 300 men, principally sepoys. The viceroy pretended he had received many insults from governor Drake: but he deferred attacking the fort, until he had proposed a treaty of accommodation with Mr. Watts, the chief of this factory, whom he summoned to a conference in his pavilion, about a mile and half from the town; under the solemn assurance, that he should be no ways molested. Mr. Watts imprudently consented, and set out with his surgeon, attended by four Peons: but when they were about musket-shot from the fort, Mr. Watts was seized by a party of the viceroy's troops, who manacled him with the folds a turban, and conducted him in that manner before the viceroy. That imperious /241/ prince would hardly deign to look on him; but compelled him to sign a paper, acknowledging a large debt to the viceroy; after which, he ordered the prisoner to send for Mr. Collet and Mr. Jackson, two of the council. As soon as those gentlemen entered the tent of the viceroy, he secured Mr. Batson, and sent Mr. Collet back, that he might prevail on the English to surrender the factory at discretion; the viceroy threatening death to his prisoners, whom he treated with the utmost indignity, and sent prisoners to Muxadabad. He also terrified the garrison by vowing destruction to them all; if he took the fort by assault.

The surrender of the fort was warmly opposed by some of the gentlemen in the company's service: but the majority of the people prevailed, and the fort was surrendered on the 4th, without opposition; whereby the chief, three of the council, and four writers; with lieutenant Elliot, and 50 European soldiers, were made prisoners. When the Moors entered the fort, they seized on every thing, ill-treated the people, stript them almost naked, and sent them prisoners to Huegley, where they were closely confined, till they were removed to Muxadabad.

The reduction of this fort greatly surprized all the Europeans settled in India: but the country people were in hopes that the English would punish the viceroy, and deliver them from his tyranny. The viceroy was encouraged by this success, and marched with all his force against Calcutta, which was invested on

the 15th. He peremptorily threatened to drive all the English out of his dominions ; yet wrote to governor Drake to accommodate matters with him ; if the governor would pay him his duty upon the trade for fifteen years past, defray the expence of his army, and /242/ deliver up the Indian merchants who were then in the fort ; which the governor refused.

The viceroy attacked one of the redoubts at the entrance of the town ; but was repulsed with a great slaughter of his troops. The English had two passes, with three guns mounted on each, and guarded by fifty men. On the 16th, the viceroy attacked the other advanced post, which kept a constant fire, and killed many of his troops. Notwithstanding this opposition, a third attempt was made on the 18th, when the English troops abandoned those posts, and retreated to the fort. The viceroy entered the town, and suffered his troops to plunder it for twenty-four hours. He then ordered the fort to be attacked ; for which purpose, he threw up a small breast work, and mounted two twelve-pounders on it ; from whence they fired two or three times in an hour ; but never could have made a breach.

The governor assembled a council of war, to consider of the state of affairs, when the captain of the train informed them, there was not ammunition in the fort for three days : in consequence of which report, the principal ladies were sent on board the ships lying before the fort. There were eight ships then at anchor in the river : and the ladies were followed by the governor who declared himself a Quaker, and left the place to be defended by Mr. Holwell, the second in council, who was determined to defend the place to the last extremity.

Besides the governor, there were four of the council, and eight gentlemen in the company's service ; four officers, and 100 soldiers ; with 52 free merchants, captains of ships, and other gentlemen, who escaped on board the ships at Fulta, where were also 59 of their ladies, and 33 of their children. The whole number left in the fort were about 250 effective men, with Mr. Holwell, four captains, /243/ five lieutenants, six ensigns, and five sergeants ; as also fourteen sea captains, and 29 gentlemen of the factory.

Mr. Holwell held a council of war ; divided three chests of treasure among the discontented soldiers, to whom he made large promises for their courage and fidelity ; secured the keys of the gates himself ; and gallantly stood the next morning to

the defence of the place. The attack was as brisk as could be made by the Moors, who got possession of the houses round the fort, from whence they galled the English much, and drove them from the bastions : but the Moors were several times dislodged by the fire from the fort, which killed upwards of 12,000 men, with the loss of only five English soldiers, the first day. The attack was continued until the 20th in the afternoon, when many of the garrison were killed or wounded, and their ammunition was almost exhausted ; upon which a flag of truce was hung out from the fort. Mr. Holwell intended to make an honorable and safe retreat on board the ships, while he demanded a capitulation to amuse the enemy : but the ships had fell down several miles from the fort, without leaving even a boat to facilitate Mr. Holwell's escape. During the parley from the walls, the back gate was betrayed by the Dutch guard ; the Moors entered the fort in a body, killed all those who first presented themselves, and made the rest prisoners.

The viceroy and his troops were in possession of the fort before six in the evening. Mr. Holwell had three audiences of him, and the last was in *darbar*, or council, before seven ; when the viceroy repeated his assurances to him, on the word of a soldier, that no harm should come to the English : but the most unparalleled acts of inhumanity were inflicted upon the unhappy prisoners, who were threatened with momentary destruction.

/244/ It is believed, the viceroy's orders were only general, that the English should be secured for that night : but what followed might be the result of revenge and resentment in the breasts of the lower class of *jemmidaars*, or officers of the rank of sergeants, who had many of their order killed during the siege. However, the viceroy was enraged not to find the treasure he expected in the fort, which had been secured on board the ships.

As soon as it was dark, the English prisoners, to the number of 146, were directed by the *jemmidaars* who guarded them, to collect themselves into one body, and sit down quietly under the arched veranda, or piazza, to the westward of the black-hole prison. Besides the guard over them, another was placed at the southend of this veranda, to prevent the escape of any of them. About 500 gunmen, with lighted matches, were drawn up on the parade ; and soon after the factory was in flames to the right and left of the prisoners, who had various conjectures on this appearance. The fire advanced with rapidity on both

sides ; and it was the prevailing opinion of the English, that they were to be suffocated between the two fires. On this they soon came to a resolution of rushing on the guard, seizing their scymitars and attacking the troops upon the parade, rather than be thus tamely roasted to death : but Mr. Holwell advanced, and found the Moors were only searching for a place to confine them in. At that time, Mr. Holwell might have made his escape, by the assistance of Mr. Leech, the company's smith, who made his escape when the Moors entered the fort, and returned just as it was dark, to tell Mr. Holwell, he had provided a boat, and would insure his escape, if he would follow him through a passage few were acquainted with, and by which he then entered. This might easily have been accomplished, as the guard /245/ took little notice of it : but Mr. Holwell told Mr. Leech, he was resolved to share the fate of the gentlemen and the garrison ; to which Mr. Leech gallantly replied, that "then he was resolved to share Mr. Holwell's fate, and would not leave him".

The guard on the parade advanced, and ordered them all to rise and go into the barracks. Then, with their muskets presented, they ordered them to go into the black-hole prison : while others, with clubs and scymitars, pressed upon them so strong, that there was no resisting it ; but, like one agitated wave impelling another, they were obliged to give way and enter ; the rest following like a torrent. Few among them, the soldiers excepted, had the least idea of the dimensions or nature of a place they had never seen ; for if they had, they should at all events have rushed upon the guard, and been cut to pieces by their own choice, as the lesser evil.

It was about eight o'clock, when these 146 unhappy persons, exhausted by continual action and fatigue, were thus crammed together into a dungeon about eighteen feet square, in a close sultry night in Bengal ; shut up to the east and south, the only quarters from whence air could reach them, by dead walls and by a wall and door to the north ; open only to the west by two windows, strongly barred with iron, from which they could receive scarce any circulation of fresh air.

What must ensue, appeared to them in very dreadful colors, the instant they saw the size and situation of the room. Many unsuccessful attempts were made to force the door ; for having only their hands to work with, and the door opening inward, all endeavors were vain and fruitless. They plainly perceived, that

death, attended with the most horrid train of circumstances, must prove their inevitable destiny.

/246/ Mr. Holwell advised them to preserve a calm mind, and quiet resignation to their fate ; which produced a short interval of peace : but that pause was not a little disturbed by the cries and groans of the many wounded. Mr. Holwell offered a Jemmidaar two thousand rupees, to get them separated half in one place, and half in another. The Moor attempted it twice ; but said it could not be done without the Soubah's order, who was asleep, and no one dared awake him.

They had been but few minutes confined before every one fell into a perspiration so profuse, that no idea can be formed of it. This brought on a raging thirst, which increased in proportion as the body was drained of its moisture. Various expedients were thought of to give more room and air. Every man was stripped, and every hat put in motion : they several times sat down on their hams ; but at each time several of the poor creatures fell, and were instantly suffocated or trod to death.

Before nine o'clock every man's thirst grew intolerable, and respiration difficult. Efforts were again made to force the door ; but still in vain. Many insults were used to the guards, to provoke them to fire in upon the prisoners, who grew outrageous, and many delirious. "Water, water", became the general cry. Some water was brought ; but these supplies, like sprinkling water on fire, only served to raise and feed the flames. The confusion became general, and horrid from the cries and ravings for water ; and some were trampled to death. This scene of misery proved entertainment to the brutal wretches without, who supplied them with water, that they might have the satisfaction of seeing them fight for it, as they phrased it ; and held up lights to the bars, that they might lose no part of the inhuman diversion.

/247/ Before eleven o'clock, most of the gentlemen were dead, and one third of the whole. Thirst grew intolerable : but Mr. Holwell kept his mouth moist by sucking the perspiration out of his shirt-sleeves, and catching the droops as they fell, like heavy rain from his head and face. By half an hour after eleven, most of the living were in an outrageous delirium. They found that water heightened their uneasiness ; and, "Air, air", was the general cry. Every insult that could be devised

against the guard ; all the opprobrious names that the viceroy and his officers could be loaded with, were repeated, to provoke the guard to fire upon them. Every man had eager hopes of meeting the first shot. Then a general prayer to Heaven, to hasten the approach of the flames to right and left of them, and put a period to their misery. Some expired on others ; while a steam arose as well from the living as the dead, which was very offensive.

About two in the morning, they crowded so much to the windows, that many died standing, unable to fall by the throng and equal pressure round. When the day broke, the stench arising from the dead bodies was unsufferable. At that juncture the Soubah, who had received an account of the havoc death had made among them, sent one of his officers to enquire if the chief survived. Mr. Holwell was shewn to him ; and near six an order came for their release.

Thus they had remained in this infernal prison from eight at night untill six in the morning, when the poor remains of 146 souls, being only twenty-three, came out alive ; but most of them in a high putrid fever. The dead bodies were dragged out of the hole by the soldiers, and thrown promiscuously into the ditch of an unfinished ravelin, which was afterwards filled with earth.

/248/Those who survived were Messieurs Holwell, Court, Cooke, Lushington, Moran, and Burdett ; the captains Mills and Dickson, and ensign Walcott ; Mrs. Carey, whose husband was a captain of one of the ships, whom she accompanied into the prison, where he died ; John Meadows, and twelve military and militia blacks and whites. Among the dead were Edward Eyre and William Baillie, Esqs ; both of the council ; the reverend Jervas Bellamy, and 21 gentlemen in the service ; three military captains, five lieutenants, five ensigns, five sergeants, and 12 sea-captains ; in all 54 gentlemen, and 69 common men. Mr. Eyre was brother to the dean of Wells, and to Mr. Robert Eyre the chief of Patna. Mr. Baillie was the son of doctor Baillie ; a Scotch gentleman, and late judge of the vice-admiralty court in Ireland.

History has never furnished a fact so full of horror ; and no tyrant ever devised a more torturing scene of barbarity, not even Phalaris.

Messieurs Holwell, Court, Burdett, and Walcott, were ordered into the custody of an officer, and the rest were immediately set at liberty, except Mrs. Carey, whose youth and beauty caused her to be detained for the tyrant. The voluntary opposition of Mr. Holwell incensed the viceroy against him ; and supposing that he would not have undertaken a work of supererogation, attended with such fatigues and danger, upon disinterested principles, he made no doubt that there were very great treasures in the fort ; in which he was concerned as a proprietor. It happened unfortunately, that Mr. Holwell in the hurry and confusion of the siege, after the fort had been deserted by the governor, forgot to set Omychund at liberty. It never once occurred to him, or he had certainly done it, because he thought his imprisonment unjust : but Omychund resented this neglect as an act of injustice ; and Mr. Holwell thought that the hard treatment he met with, might be attributed to Omychund's insinuations, in which opinion he was confirmed by the confinement of the three gentlemen selected to be his companions, who were all of them persons against whom Omychund had conceived a particular resentment.

Mr. Holwell was in a high fever, and unable to stand ; yet in that condition he was conducted before the viceroy, who told him, he was well informed of great treasures being buried or secreted in the fort ; that Mr. Holwell was privy to it ; and must discover it, if he expected favor. Mr. Holwell urged every thing he could to convince the viceroy there was no truth in the information : but he was ordered prisoner under Mhir Muddon, general of the household troops ; and, as such, was conducted together with Messieurs Court, Walcott, and Burdett to the camp, within the outward ditch, near Omychund's garden, which was above three miles from the fort. Mr. Holwell was threatened to be shot off from the mouth of a cannon ; and among the guard that carried him from the viceroy, one bore a large Morattoo battleax, which occasioned a report that he was beheaded. They were all loaded with fetters, though in fever ; in which condition they were conveyed to Muxadabad, to wait the return of the viceroy.

They embarked in a Wollack, or large boat, on the 24th, and were thirteen days in their passage to Muxadabad, which is above two hundred miles up the river from Calcutta. Their provision was only rice and water ; and they had bamboos to

lie on ; but as their fever was come to a crisis, their bodies were covered with boils, which became running sores, exposed to excessive heats and violent rains, without any covering, or scarce any cloaths, and the irons on their legs consumed the flesh almost to the bone.

/250/ Mr. Holwell, as a prisoner of state, was estimated and valued to Bundo Sing Hazary, who commanded the guard, at four lack of rupees. or 50,000 *l.* sterling.

They arrived at the French factory, on the 7th of July in the morning, and were waited on by Mr. Law, the French chief, who generously supplied them with cloaths, linen, provisions, liquors, and money. About four in the afternoon, they landed at Muxadabad, and were confined in an open stable, not far from the Soubah's palace. This march drew tears of disdain and anguish of heart from them : thus to be led like felons, a spectacle to the inhabitants of this populous city. They had a guard of Moors placed on one side, and a guard of Gentoos on the other. The immense croud of spectators, who came from all quarters of the city to satisfy their curiosity, so blocked them up from morning until night, that they narrowly escaped a second suffocation, the weather being excessively sultry.

Here they experienced every act of humanity and friendship from Messieurs Law and Vernet, the French and Dutch chiefs at Cossimbuzar, who left no means unessayed to procure their release. Mess. Ross and Elkstone, the Dutch chief and second at Muxadabad, regularly sent them provisions, and daily visited them. The whole body of Armenian merchants were most kind and friendly to them. Messieurs Hastings and Chambers had obtained their liberty by the French and Dutch chiefs becoming bail for their appearance : and this security was offered for Mr. Holwell, but without effect.

After the taking of Calcutta, the Soubah called it Allynagore, and left Raja Monickchund, a Gentoo, governor there, who expelled most of the Indian inhabitants, and obliged them to seek for protection from the French and Dutch factories at Chandernagore, and Chinsura. Mr. Boddom, the /251/ English chief at Balisore, with two other gentlemen, and twenty five military, quitted that factory by order of governor Drake, and went on board the ships at Fulta. The same was done by Mr. Amyatt, the chief at Jugdea, who came on board with five other gentlemen, and twenty military. But Mr. Beecher, the chief at Dacca,

four of the council, three gentlemen, and three ladies, with twenty-four military, were made prisoners ; though they were afterwards permitted to live in the French factory, by whose intercession they were set at liberty.

The Soubah arrived at Muxadabad on the 11th of July ; and in his way called at Huegley, where he released Mr. Watts and the other gentlemen confined there. On the 15th, he ordered Mr. Holwell and his three companions to be conducted to the Kella, or Soubah's palace, to have an audience, and know their fate. They had no admittance that day to the Soubah ; but they saw several of his ministers, who had entered his court in the utmost pomp and magnificence, brought out disgraced, in the custody of the guards. Mr. Holwell and his companions obtained their release at the intercession of Allyverdy Cawn Begum, the dowager princess, grandmother of the Soubah, who solicited their liberty at a feast the preceding night ; and he promised to release them on the next day, when he called on them, as he went by to his palace of Moteejeel. They made him the usual salam ; and Mr. Holwell addressed him in a short speech, setting forth their sufferings, and petitioned for their liberty. He gave no answer ; but ordered the guard immediately to cut their irons off, and to conduct them wherever they chose to go, as also to take care they received no trouble or insult. As soon as their legs were free, they took boat, and proceeded to the Dutch mint near the city, where /252/ they were received and entertained with real joy and humanity. Mr. Holwell soon after embarked for England ; and the Soubah was soon after punished for his cruelty.

Chapter II

Admiral Watson and colonel Clive sail with the squadron and troops from Madrass to Bengal. They take the forts of Busbudgia, Tanna, and Huegley ; and retake Calcutta and Fort William from the Soubah in 1757. Colonel Clive defeats the Soubah near Calcutta, and compels him to sign a peace. Colonel Clive takes Fort D'Orlean at Chandernagore from the French. The English agree with Jaffier Allee Cawn to depose the Soubah, who is defeated and taken prisoner by colonel Clive at Plassey ; after which he is beheaded by Jaffier Allee Cawn,

who is placed on the throne at Muxadabad, His indemnification to the English for their loss, and his rewards for their assistance—The French take Vizagapatnam from the English. —Admiral Waston dies at Calcutta, and is succeeded in the command by vice-admiral Pococke. Remarks. (pp. 252-267)

It was reported, that the English company had lost two millions sterling by the viceroy's reduction of Calcutta ; which made it necessary for the presidency of Madrass to relinquish the agreement with Salabatzing the Soubah of the Deckan, and to send all their force to oppose Surajad Dowla the Soubah of Bengal. Colonel Clive was accordingly dispatched with 400 Europeans, and 1000 sepoys from Coromandel to Bengal.

/253/ Admiral Watson sailed from Madrass on the 16th of October 1756, with all his squadron and the troops on board ; accompanied by the Walpole and Marlborough Indiaman. They had a tedious passage ; and arrived at Balisore road on the 5th of December. The admiral crossed the braces on the 8th, proceeded up the river Huegley, and arrived at Fulta on the 15th, where he found the governor Drake, and the gentlemen of the council, on board the company's ships. As the pilots would not take charge of the ships until the springs were over, admiral could not proceed higher till the 28th, when he sailed with the Kent, Tyger, Salisbury, Bridgewater, and King's-fisher sloop ; and the next afternoon, the company's troops were landed under the command of colonel Clive.

The troops were to march and attack Busbudgia fort by land, while the squadron was to attack it by water. This fort belonged to the Soubah, and was extremely well situated for defence ; having a wet ditch round it ; but badly provided with cannon. The squadron anchored before the fort, and began to cannonade about eight in the morning on the 30th ; and half an hour after the king's troops were landed to support colonel Clive. The ships soon silenced the fort, which was set on fire, and abandoned. The garrison and people escaped ; leaving eighteen guns, from twenty-four pounders and downwards. and forty-two barrels of powder, with ball in proportion. One of the company's captains was killed, and four soldiers wounded.

On the 1st of January 1757, the Kent and Tyger anchored between Tanna fort and a battery opposite to it ; both of which

the enemy abandoned, as the ships approached. About forty guns, some of which were twenty-four pounders, and all mounted on good carriages, with some powder and ball were found in this fort and battery ; and the admiral /254/ left the Salisbury as a guard-ship, to prevent the enemy from regaining them. In the night, he sent the boats, manned and armed, up the river, to burn a ship and some vessels, said to be filled with combustibles which was executed without opposition. Thus the English had opened a passage to the fort of Calcutta, the late scene of the deplorable sufferings of so many of their unfortunate countrymen.

Early the next morning, the company's troops were landed, and marched to Calcutta ; while the ships proceeded up the river, and drove the enemy from some batteries below the town. The Kent and Tyger still sailed on, together with the twenty gun ship and sloop. The English were animated with revenge at the affecting sight of Fort William ; and, at ten minutes past ten, the Tyger and Kent made so warm a fire, that the enemy were soon drove from their guns, and ran out of the fort, which captain Coote, with the king's troops, an officer from the Kent, entered a little before eleven. They found 91 guns of different sizes, four mortars, and a considerable quantity of all kinds of ammunition. The ships suffered very little in their masts, yards, and rigging : there were only nine seamen and three soldiers killed ; with twenty-six seamen and five soldiers wounded.

An expedition was then proposed against Huegley, which was situated on the other side of the river, about sixty miles above Calcutta. It was a large town, subject to the Soubah, and chiefly inhabited by Indians and Portuguese ; but this was also the rendezvous for all nations who traded to Bengal ; its warehouses and shops being always filled with the richest merchandize of the country ; and the Dutch had a factory there which was large and magnificent. This expedition was undertaken by the twenty gun ship and sloop ; the boats of the squadron /255/-dron manned and armed ; assisted by all the king's troops, amounting to 170, the company's grenadiers, and 200 sepoys, commanded by major Kilpatrick. They sailed on the 5th. under the command of captain Smith, of the Bridgewater ; and, on the 11th, the place was taken and destroyed. The English took twenty guns, and a great quantity of ammunition. As the city was destroyed, together with the granaries and store-

houses of salt situated on the banks of each side the river, it was of great prejudice to the viceroy, as they contained a store for the subsistence of his army, while in that part of the country.

Thus the English became masters of the strongest places of trade in Bengal ; and their successes inflamed the Soubah more than ever, who found that Indian forts could not resist English valor. He therefore marched with an army of 10,000 horse, 15,000 foot ; with he intended nothing less than total expulsion of the English out of Bengal. His army was seen marching by the English camp, on the 2d of February, about a mile distance towards Calcutta, where they encamped.

Colonel Clive had only 400 Europeans, and 1600 sepoys ; but, on the 15th, he was reinforced by a detachment of sailors ; 180 from the Kent, 173 from the Tyger, 120 from the Salisbury, 29 from the Bridgewater, 37 from the Sloop, and 30 from the Indiamen ; in all 569, commanded by captain Warwick. The whole body was to force and drive the viceroy out of his camp ; and began to march at three in the morning, with the sailors attending the train, which consisted of six field pieces, and one haubitzer. The king's troops and company's grenadiers were in the front, the battalion next, then the train, and the sepoys in the rear. About five, the troops in the van entered the Soubah's camp, when they were charged by the /256/ Moorish horse ; and by the time the rear-guard were entered, the engagement became general from hedges and bushes. The English played their artillery, defending the right and left of their army all the way through the camp, and driving the enemy before them with great rapidity, till they lodged themselves in a tope, behind some hedges. From thence the Soubah detached a large body of horse, with two cannon, to the cross road of the Bunglo ; but colonel Clive soon dislodged them, and marched into the fort. In this action the viceroy had 1300 men killed and wounded, and 21 of the former were officers : he had 500 horses killed, as also 300 draught bullocks, and four elephants. The English had two captains of the company's troops, 17 private soldiers, 12 seamen, and 10 sepoys killed ; with 15 seamen, and 50 soldiers and sepoys wounded ; but lieutenant Lutwidge of the Salisbury, was mortally wounded.

This attack was not attended with the desired success : yet it was sufficient to make the Soubah very solicitous to

accelerate a peace, which was concluded on the 9th of February, and consisted of the seven following articles :

I. That whatever rights and privileges the king had granted the company, should not be disputed ; and the immunities therein mentioned should be confirmed.

II. That all goods passing and repassing through the country, by land or water, with English orders, should be exempt from any tax, fee; or imposition.

III. That all the company's factories seized by the Soubah should be returned : and all monies, goods, and effects be restored, or accounted for.

/257/ IV. That the English should have permission to fortify Calcutta, as they thought proper.

V. That they should have liberty to coin their own imports of bullion and gold.

VI. That the viceroy, and his principal officers and ministers, should ratify this treaty by signing and sealing, and swearing to abide by the articles therein contained.

VII. That admiral Charles Watson and colonel Robert Clive, on the part and behalf of the English nation and of the company, agreed to live in a good understanding with the Soubah, to put an end to these troubles, and be in friendship with them while he observed and performed these articles.

But the Soubah required, that the governor and council should also sign them with the Company's seal, and swear to the performance on their part. The articles were equally honorable and advantageous to the company, with respect to their possessions and privileges granted by the Mogul, the freedom of trade, and the indemnification of all losses sustained. The treaty was ratified on oath ; but no confidence could be placed in the Soubah, even under that solemnity, after the perfidy he had lately shewn. He soon disregarded the treaty. and renewed his preparations for war ; while the British commanders were convinced of the insincerity of the French, who had instigated the Soubah to oppress the English ; and therefore they undertook the reduction of the French factory at Chandernagore. (or Chandernagore), which is about a league below Huegley, /258/ and where the French had their presidency of Fort d'Orlean... /259/.. The leading men at the court of Muxadabad, knowing

the faithless disposition of their prince, and perceiving no probability of an established peace in their country, began to murmur, and entered into a conspiracy to divest him of the government.

This conspiracy was headed by Jaffier Allee Cawn, who communicated it to Mr. Watts, the second in Council at Calcutta; and intreated their assistance.... For this purpose a treaty was entered into with Jaffier Allee Cawn, who therein styled himself, Meer Mahmud Jaffier Cawn Bahadur, the slave of Allum Geer, Mogul, and admiral Watson, colonel Clive, governor Drake, Mr. Watts and the committee. It consisted of twelve articles, and was dated, "the 15th of the moon Ramadan, in the 4th year of the present reign".

A VOYAGE TO CALCUTTA IN 1761*

On the 30th of March, 1761, we set sail from England on board the *Plassey*, Indiaman, being ordered on His Majesty's Service to Madras, and on June 30th came to an anchor at the small island of Mosambique, a Portuguese settlement on the east coast of Africa.

...After a week's stay (at Mosambique) we departed from the place, and in a month arrived off Madras, but not being able to get in, steered for Visigapatnam,¹ an English settlement, five degrees to the northward of Madras and dependent on it. We got to this place on the 4th of August. . . . The Governor of this place would not receive His Majesty's troops : so we were obliged to go for Bengal, and on the 16th of August came to an anchor in the famous river Ganges, having lost but one soldier since we left England. Soon after we were disembarked and sent up the river about 100 miles to Calcutta, the Company's settlement, situated on the bank of the river, which even here is almost a mile in breadth. The town is large, irregular, and populous. The houses are built very spacious, with flat roofs, a great many windows and doors for the benefit of air, and are generally well contrived and make a handsome appearance. This settlement carries on a very extensive trade with the other parts of India, and the many private fortunes acquired here are a convincing proof of its immense riches.

The climate of Bengal is perhaps as bad as any in the universe, and remarkably fatal to our countrymen. It abounds so much with standing waters and the earth is so much impregnated with saltpetre that when the Sun rarifies the water the air becomes absolutely putrid, and this occasions the frequency

*The MS of this narrative was found by A. Cassells, I.C.S. among the papers of a Scottish family and there is no clue to its authorship. This was published in the *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. XLVI, Serial So. 92 (October-December, 1933), pp. 95-99. The description of Mosambique is omitted here. Otherwise we have not taken any liberty in reproducing the narrative.

of agues and putrid fevers. In the winter season mists and fogs are very frequent in the evenings and mornings, which are very cold ; yet the day is very hot. The whole country has a disagreeable aspect : so low that not a mole-hill is to be seen full of woods and thickets, the haunt of tigers. The produce of Bengal is wheat, rice, and tropical fruits. Their beef, when sometimes stall fed, is good : the kid and mutton excellent : cabbage, pease, beans, and other vegetables are good and in abundance during the months of November, December, January, and February. Their poultry, tho' plenty, is very dear ; and have no fish except what their river and ponds produce, which are very bad.

It is a frequent observation that the English gentlemen, finding unexpectedly this country to produce what is common to them in England, are too apt to indulge their appetites ; so that it is become a saying that they live like Englishmen and die like rotten sheep. Of 84 rank and file, which our company consisted of on our arrival, we had but 34 remaining in three months—a convincing proof how fatal this climate is to Europeans. The most adult and robust are most particularly unhealthy.

The inhabitants of Bengal wear turbans on their heads and a piece of cotton cloth rolled round their loins : all the rest of the body is naked. The better sort wear a habit like a night-gown. They are divided into a great number of tribes or castes—I mean the Gentoos, who are the original possessors of the country ; the Moors (whose religion is Mahomedan) are intruders only.

The Gentoos, tho' pagans, yet have a confused idea of one Supreme Being and a future state. Many of them adopt the opinions of Pythagoras. They are a gentle, harmless, and inoffensive people ; adhering strictly to their own ancient customs and manners, notwithstanding that the Moors, who conquered them, are almost as numerous as themselves. Simple indeed in their diet, but not so in their tempers, being greatly addicted to overreaching, and they think it meritorious to impose on a white man. They are slender in their persons and very agreeably featured. A very barbarous custom prevails among them, quite inconsistent with their character, and that is, they burn the living wives with their deceased husbands. When the husband is laid upon the pile, his wife must stretch herself on his body,

and her eldest son or nearest male relation sets the first torch to it. Several instances of this happened while I was at Calcutta. If the woman declines or absolutely refuses to comply with this custom, they will not compel, but excommunicate her their tribe or caste. After which life becomes indeed a burthen; so that the poor unhappy woman is forced to chuse either to be burnt or to starve. But this custom is observed by the better sort only: it prevails most among the Banyans, who are commonly merchants. I have often discoursed with the Banyans, on this subject; and they told me, as it was an injunction of their Bramenies or priests from time immemorial, they thought themselves obliged to follow the example of their father in this as well as everything else.

If the sick is thought past recovery—I mean among the common sort—they carry him to the river, and, after stopping his nose, mouth, and ears with mud, they commit as yet living to stream. I have seen numbers floating at a time. They pay divine honours to this river.

The Gentoos' manner of taking an oath before a court of judicature is odd enough. I have attended at a General Court Martial when several of these people, who had taken up the deserter, were brought in to give their evidence, with a Bramenie attending them, who administered out of a silver cup a spoonful of a certain herb and water: which having swallowed, they wished it might prove their poison if they did not tell the truth.

Should any European enter their houses, they imagine them to be then polluted; neither will they eat or drink anything that has been touched by Europeans, or even Moors, who they hate—and not without reason, for they are a lazy, haughty people, oppressing without mercy where they have any power.

The trade of Bengal consists chiefly in saltpetre, muslin, raw silk, opium, and handkerchiefs. They export likewise a great quantity of rice.

After a stay of five months we left this Golgotha, and arrived in Madras in February, 1762, with the miserable remains of our company and diseases sticking to us from which the change of climate and skill of doctors freed a few of us, tho' not in a short time.

Madras, or Fort St. George, lies on the coast of Coromandel, a pretty, compact, well built town, and extremely well fortified. The trade of this place is not so flourishing as that of Bengal, but the climate much preferable. The sea breezes cool the air ; and the adjacent country is not encumbered with woods or low shrubs, nor have they any standing waters. Yet it too has its diseases, which are chiefly fluxes and an inflammation in the liver ; but in general it is healthy. In the months of May, June, July, August, and September the land or hot winds blow very strong and are very troublesome. This country produces very little wheat and rice, and, except their fish, provisions in general are neither so good nor plenty as in Bengal. The country in general is ill peopled and ill cultivated. The inhabitants differ very little from those of Bengal : they seem to be the same sort of people.

We had the pleasure of the Nabob's company here for a few months lately, and he did us the honour to come and see us reviewed. His complexion is olive and his person graceful. He has little or no retinue—except a rabble of the common blacks may be called so. His Begham, or queen, received the visits of the ladies of the settlement ; but no gentleman was allowed to see her. It is the custom of the Moors to lock up their wives from the sight of all mankind. Her Majesty is ill favoured and awkward. She was greatly at a loss how to receive her visitors : however, she was polite enough to dismiss them all with presents.

I must here observe that the settlements of Calcutta and Madras are abominably addicted to scandal. A great many young women, generally mantuamakers,² milliners, etc., come annually to this country in quest of husbands, and are amazingly successful ; in so much that one would be apt to think the gentlemen marry here for such a dowry as is somewhere mentioned in Pautus—*Nor ego illam mihi dotem esse puto quae dos dicitur, sed pudicitiam et pudorem et sedatam cupidinem.* What these ladies have formerly been is very conspicuous in their behaviour, which is an awkward attempt to appear what they never were. This and the distant voyage these bold adventurers make, who seldom have any relations or friends, or even acquaintances, in the country, and who come upon the strength of recommendation only, naturally creates suspicions which break out into scandal.

The people of these settlements live in astonishing luxury, but notwithstanding have very little politeness among them. One seldom meets with a father and son, two brothers, uncle and nephew, or even cousins in one settlement; and as they have no ties of blood to cement their friendships 'tis no wonder we find them so selfish. Everyman's fortune seems to depend on the death, ruin, or removal of another.

Notes.

1. Visakhapatnam.
2. Mantua (17th-18th cent.), a woman's loose outer gown (Scot).

Mrs. NATHANIEL KINDERSLEY

LETTERS from the Island of Tenerisse, Brazil, the Cape of God Hope, and the East Indies by Mrs. Kindersley was published in London in 1777 (Printed for J. Nourse, in the Strand, Bookseller to his Majesty). Mrs. Kindersley's book of travels is perhaps the first of its kind on India ever written by a woman.

Mrs. Kindersley came out to India with her husband, Nathaniel Kindersley, Captain of the Artillery. He was transferred from the Royal Artillery in May 1764. He joined the Royal Artillery in 1758 as Fireworker and promoted 2nd Lieutenant, R.A. on 31 January 1764. He was Captain (Bengal) on July 27, 1764, Major on April 1, 1768 and Lieutenant-Colonel on July 28, 1769 (antedated to 8th November, 1768). He was the only son of Rev. John Kindersley and Sarah Raining, his wife. He married in England, c. 1762, Miss Jemima Wicksted or Wickstead. She was known to her friends as "Pulcherrima". At the time of Lt. Col. Kindersley's death on October 24, 1769 he was the Commandant of the Bengal Artillery. His will is dated 18th October, 1769 and was proved on October 27, 1769.

Nathaniel Kindersley was extremely well qualified in the engineering branch of military service and the Court of the Directors of the East India Company, writing on May 9, 1764, to the President at Fort William, recommended him to "your particular notice to be employed in that way if wanted, and to succeed to any vacancy that may happen therein agreeable to his abilities and merit". During the course of his four years' service, he "acquitted himself entirely to our satisfaction", wrote Fort William authorities to London on March 2, 1769.

Mrs. Kindersley reached Calcutta in August, 1765 and proceeded to Allahabad, reaching Patna in November, 1766. She stayed at Allahabad for about 7 months. She has given a description of that town in her letters 31, 32, 33, 34-37 and 43. She left Allahabad in May 1768 for Calcutta, visiting on the way Banaras, Patna, Monghyr, Kasimbazar, Chandernagore

and Chinsura. She left Calcutta for England before the death of her husband in October, as we find her writing from St. Helena in February 1769. She died in 1809, aged 68. (Bibliography : V.C.P. Hodson's *List of Officers of the Bengal Army, 1758-1834*, London, 1928, part ii, pp. 595-96 ; *Fort William-India House Correspondence*, vols. IV.-1764-66, edited by C.S. Srinivasachari, Delhi, 1962, P. 41 and—do—Vol. V—1767-69, edited by N.K. Sinha, Delhi, 1949; P. 530).

CLIMATE OF CALCUTTA

Letter XX

Calcutta, August 1765

/82/ At length I have the satisfaction to inform you of our arrival at Calcutta. The voyage from Madras, short as it is, is a dangerous one ; for the entrance to the mouth of the Ganges is a very difficult piece of navigation, on account of the many islands, cut out by the numberless branches of the river ; many of which branches are really great rivers themselves, and after sweeping through and fertilizing the different parts of several provinces, these disembogue themselves, with great force, and the roaring noise of many waters.

Besides there are a number of sand banks, which, from the prodigious force of the waters, change their situation. Therefore it is necessary to have a pilot well skilled in the different channels ; /83/ but as such are not always to be had, many ships are thereby endangered, and sometimes lost.

Letter XXI

Calcutta, April 1766

/83/ Last night, or rather early this morning, we had for the first time since my arrival, what is called a *North-wester*, which are very frequent in the hot season ; a *North-wester* is a violent storm of wind from that quarter, attended with thunder lightning, and rain ; the loudness of the thunder, the terrible flashes of lightning, the roaring of the wind, which carries all before it, and the deluge of rain, are altogether tremendous : it appeared as if every crack of thunder must tear roof of the house I was in from end to end.

/84/ The tempest being spent, was succeeded by the azure morn, and the radiant Sun ; which tempered by the

coolness of the earth, formed some hours of the most delightful climate that can be imagined, but was too soon followed by excessive heat, for after every *North-wester*, the heat sensibly increases till the rains commence. Every one now begins to look forward to that season, wishing it was come.

The baneful influence of the Sun is a melancholy reflection; the number of sudden deaths amongst the English, and the caution they are obliged to use to preserve life, makes this season very uncomfortable; and when it happens, as it sometimes does, that the rains are late before they set in, the mortality exceeds belief.

The illness of which most people die, is what is called here, a *Pucker fever* /85/ which frequently carries a person off in a few hours; the physicians esteem it the lightest degree of putridity. But some have more lingering illness, such as bile in the stomach, which indeed is a disorder very few are entirely exempt from in these cases: the intense heat relaxes the coats of the stomach so as to prevent digestion, which occasions much illness, and oft-times death.

It is frequently said, though very unjustly, that this climate never kills the English ladies; and, indeed, it must be allowed, that women do not so often die of violent fevers as men, which is no wonder, as we live more temperately, and expose ourselves less in the heat of the day; and perhaps, the tenderness of our constitutions sometimes prevents the violence of the disorder, and occasions a lingering, instead of a sudden, death. But most English women labour under the oppression of weak nerves, slow fevers, and bile: the disorders I have mentioned, and the continual perspiration, soon destroys /86/ the roses on the cheeks of the young and beautiful, and gives them a pale yellow complexion.

I sat down to give you an account of the weather and climate, which insensibly led me to the consequences of it: every thing but cold is in extremes here, the heat is intense, the rains floods, the winds hurricanes, and the hailstones I dare not tell you how large, lest you should think I have the licence of a traveller. But what I always behold with reverence and awe and at the same time with pleasure, is the lightning; not an evening passes without it; it is not that offensive glare of light I have been used to see, but a beautiful fire, which plays amongst

the clouds, and passes from one part of the heavens to another, in every direction, and in every variety of vibration.

(/87/—From Letter XXII dated *Motte Jill, September, 1766*). “As the rains were not quite over when we set out from Calcutta on the first of September, our progress up the river was exceedingly slow ; we were a fortnight in getting to Cossumbuzar, where we spent a few days : at Cossumbuzar is an English factory”.....

SAILING IN A BUDGEROO

(../93/ From Letter XXIV, *Patna, November, 1766*) The progress up the Ganges is so exceedingly slow, that the voyage from /94/ Calcutta to Allahabad takes near three months to perform it in ; at the same time that it is common to go from Allahabad to Calcutta in twenty days. When a boat comes down the river it takes the middle of the rapid stream, which carries it down without the help of oars or sail ; but it is extremely dangerous, on account of the many turnings, which require a dextrous management ; and likewise from the many smaller arms, which discharge themselves into the great river, and cause such an eddy from the meeting of the two or three currents, that the largest *budgeroo* cannot stand it, but is whirled round and round like a millsail, and sometimes overset ; by which misfortune many European lives have been lost ; as to the black people, they generally swim so well as to escape to the shore.

A *budgeroo* is not much unlike a city barge ; the covered part generally divided into two pretty good rooms, and an open /95/ *verander*, carrying from ten to twenty oars, and as many men, called *dandies* ; the master, who steers, is called a *sarang*.

These fellows are very dextrous in their way, and seem to have the property of fishes ; at least I must look upon them as amphibious animals, for the water appears to be as much their element as the land : in the passage up the river they mostly tow ; but when they come to a creek, of which there are many very broad, they fasten the rope round their wastes, and, throwing themselves from the land, which is often very high, swim across, dragging the *budgeroo* after them.

When the squalls of wind and rain come on, if they can find no place to lay by, they jump into the river, and hang

with their hands upon the edge of the boat, to keep it steady, with just their mouth above the water ; in this manner they continue till the squall is over. The /96/ work of towing, or as it is called, tracking, is sometimes exceedingly laborious ; for the banks, which, when the river is lowered, are the height of a house at least above the water, are so softened by the rains, that the *dandies* sink midleg at every step they take ; frequently large pieces of the banks give way, and by their fall boats are sunk or overset.

Sometimes they row ; then it is they seem to enjoy themselves, singing all together, with great vehemence, some songs peculiar to their employment.

A family has frequently two *budgeroos*, besides boats ; one of the boats is for cookery, the others for servants, provisions, furniture, and other necessities ; for whenever people remove from one place to another, they are obliged to carry all these things with them, even *palenqueens*, carriages, and horses ; so that the troop of attendants of every kind amounts to a great number of people.

/97/ When one chooses to dine, &c. the *budgeroo* is stopped, and the boats which are wanted come round it, and the dinner is served with as much order as on shore ; it is surprising how they can cook half a dozen or more dishes, in a boat only defended from the air by a tilt made of mats.

Except in the squalls, which are frequent in the season, it is a most easy method of travelling, and, when a party of *budgeroos* go together, very agreeable.

When the *budgeroos* stop at night, the *dandies* make their fires on the shore, each *cast* by themselves, and boil their rice, which is all they live upon.

CASTES AND TRIBES

/128. From Letter XXXII Allahabad, July 1767/
The tribe of *Hindoos* the English have most connexion with, and are obliged to put most confidence in, are in the third great division, called *Banians*, who are a kind of merchants, or rather brokers in every kind of merchandize. Every European both civil and military, who has either trade, or troops under him to pay, is obliged to have one of them in his service, who is a sort of steward : one of them is likewise necessary at the head

of every family, to hire and pay the servants, and purchase whatever is wanting, for nothing can be bought or sold without them.

/129/ They are exceedingly indolent ; crafty, and artful to an astonishing degree ; and shew in all their dealings the most despicable low cunning, which makes them not to be depended upon for any thing : they have not only a secret premium out of whatever they pay to servants, tradespeople, &c. but keep them out of their money long after the master supposes they have been paid.

They are the most tedious people in the world, for besides the holidays, which they will on no account break through, they have a method of putting every thing off till to-morrow : when it is found out, as it often is, that they have told an untruth, they have no shame for it, but immediately tell another and another ; nothing can hurry them, nothing can discompose or put them out of countenance, nothing can make them angry ; provided their gains are sure, the master may fret to find his business go on slowly, may abuse them for want of honesty, may argue with them for their ingratitude, /130/ may convict them of falsehood and double-dealing, it signifies nothing ; the same mild and placid countenance remains, without the least symptom of fear, anger, or shame.

Those who are concerned with us usually speak pretty tolerable English ; they are many of them worth large sums of money, and frequently lend a great deal to their masters, mostly at the interest of nine or ten per cent.

By being in the service of an English gentleman, particularly if he has any considerable rank or employment in the company's service, they have great advantages, not only from all his concerns, out of which they have a profit, but it enables them to carry on their own with the greater security ; besides their wages, which, according to their master's situation and their own importance, is from a hundred to ten *rupees* a month, they are many of them of consequence amongst their own people, keep /131/ a *palenqueen*, horses, and a number of servants.

Those who act in that capacity to a Governor or Commander in Chief, pretend to a superior rank, and take the title of *Duan*, instead of *Banian*.

.../183. From letter XLIII, *Allahabad*, Aug., 1767/
There are other *casts* who are remarkably swift of foot, parti-

cularly *Hircarers* ; these people are often made use of as spies, both on public and private occasions ; frequently they are kept as a sort of running-footmen, and compose a part of the parade of servants who precede a *palenqueen* ; they are likewise sent with letters or messages to very different parts of the country, and their expedition is extraordinary.

When one gives a *Hircarer* a letter to carry to any distance, he takes off /184/ his turband, and carefully conceals the letter in the folds of it ; he provides himself with a brass pot, for the convenience of drawing water from the wells or rivers he is to pass ; and a little parched rice, either in a bag or the folds of his garment, which is generally a piece of coarse linen, from his waist to his knees : thus equipped, with a sort of club in his hand, he will make a journey of three or four hundred miles.

CALCUTTA

Letter LXIV

Calcutta, May, 1768

/270/ We left Allahabad early in March ; a season in which the river is very much fallen ; and, making short visits by the way, to Beneras, Patna, Monghier, Cassambuzar, Chandanagore and Chinchura, arrived at Calcutta the latter end April. We travelled all the way in *budgeroos*, having the good fortune to find the river not too dry to be passable.

Chandanagore and Chinchura, the first a French, and the last a Dutch settlement, are about a day's journey up the river from Calcutta ; and so near each other that the inhabitants are constantly visiting from one town to the other in their *palenqueens*.

/271/ Nothing can be more different than these two neighbouring towns, except their inhabitants. Chandanagore, in the late war, was taken by the English men of war under the command of admiral Watson, and the town has not yet recovered its appearance, nor have its inhabitants recovered their fortunes : but they are gay, vain, and happy.

Chinchura, on the contrary, is an excessive pretty town, regularly built, regularly governed ; the inhabitants rich, thrifty, and dull ; in short, a Dutch town, and Dutch people.

The Dutch despise the frivolity of the French, the French ridicule the clumsiness of the Dutch.

But, amongst those who call themselves French and Dutch at these places ; very few, amongst the women particularly, are really so, being most of them /272/ country-born ; there are likewise many of these who are called English, because they are married to English-men, or live under an English government.

These country-born women are the descendants of an European father, and what is called a Portuguese mother (which people I have before given you some account of) ; the boys we seldom hear any thing about ; but the girls, who are sometimes born in wedlock, and sometimes not, as they are fairer than their mothers, are fond of being called English, French, &c. ; and, if pretty, often marry to Europeans, who sometimes arise to be people of consequence ; their children, being another remove from black, do not like to have their descent remembered, and nothing is so great an affront as to class them amongst the Portuguese ; although, from education and example, and perhaps from constitution, they often retain the indolence and cun-/273/-ning peculiar to the natives of this country.

Letter LXV

Calcutta, June, 1768

/273/ I think I have never given any account of the town of Calcutta ; indeed, after Madrass, it does not appear much worthy describing ; for although it is large, with a great many good houses in it, and has the advantage of standing upon the banks of a river*, it is as awkward a place as can be conceived ; and so irregular, that it looks as if all the houses had been thrown up in the air, and fallen down again by accident as they now stand ; people keep constantly building ; and every one who can procure a piece of ground to build /274/ a house upon, consults his own taste and convenience, without any regard to the beauty or regularity of the town ; besides, the appearance of the best houses is spoiled by the little straw huts, and such sort of encumbrances, which are built up by the servants for themselves to sleep in : so that all the English part of the town, which is the largest, is a confusion of very superb and very shabby houses, dead walls, straw huts, warehouses, and I know not what.

* An arm of The Ganges, called the river Hugly.

The most like a street is the *Buzar*, the name they call every place by where any thing is to be sold ; the *Buzar* is full of little shabby-looking shops, called *Boutiques* : they are kept by black people. The English seldom visit those places themselves, but depend on their *Banians*, and other servants, for the purchase of every thing ; indeed if they do not it is much the same, for at all events they are sure to be cheated.

/275/ About the middle of the town, on the river's edge, stands the old fort, memorable for the catastrophe of the Black Hole, so much talked of in England ; it was in one of the apartments in it that wretched sufferers were confined. The fort is now made a very different use of ; the only apology for a church is in some of the rooms in it, where divine service is sometimes performed.

In a distinct part of the town resides the Armenians, and the people called the Portuguese ; each of these have their own churches ; and the Portuguese keep up the processions and pageantry of the Romish church, as far as they are permitted ; but are obliged to perform it all within their own walls. The chief connexion we have with those people is, employing some of the women as servants, or the men as writers, or sometimes cooks.

/276/ The Armenian women we have not the least connexion with ; but the men are often employed by merchants to carry on trade, or collect goods in different parts of India : and are called *Go-mastahs*. They trade likewise, by permission of the company, on their own accounts ; and some few of them are rich. But their language, appearance, customs, and manners, are so different from ours, that an acquaintance with them is impossible. The dress of the women is something like the Mahomedans, as they wear long drawers, and a sort of gown or vest over them ; but their heads are covered with turbands of a prodigious size : one part of their dress is very extraordinary, and, I believe, peculiar to the Armenians ; this is called a mouth-cloth, a piece of muslin, which comes from under the chin, and is tyed strait above the upper-lip : this every woman puts on as soon as she is married. I do not know enough of the Armenians to /277/ tell you the origin of this customs : but I am told, that the heat it occasions from the breath being so confined, often causes a disagreeable

humour about the mouth and chin, likewise occasions an offensive breath.

Here is not, as at Madrass, a black town near for the servants of the English to reside in ; therefore Calcutta is partly environed by their habitation, which makes the roads rather unpleasant ; for the huts they live in, which are built of mud and straw, are so low that they can scarcely stand upright in them ; and, having no chimnies, the smoke of the fires with which they dress their victuals, comes all out at the doors, and is perhaps more disagreeable to the passenger than to themselves.

The new fort, an immense place, is on the river side about a mile below the town. If all the buildings which are in-/278/-tended within its walls, are finished, it will be a town within itself ; for besides houses for the engineers and other officers who reside at Calcutta, there are apartments for the company's writers, barracks for soldiers, magazines for stores, etc.

The town of Calcutta is likewise daily increasing in size, notwithstanding which, the English inhabitants multiply so fast, that houses are extremely scarce ; as I have given you a description of the houses at Madrass, I need only say, that these are much in the same stile, only they have not the beautiful channam ; for although they have had the same shells brought from the coast of Coromandel, and have mixed them with the same materials, and in the same manner, it has not the least of that fine gloss which is there so greatly admired ; this is owing to all the water in Bengal partaking so much of the salt-petre with which the earth is in every part impregnated. /279/ Paper, or wainscot, are improper, both on account of the heat, the vermin, and the difficulty of getting it done ; the rooms are therefore all whited walls, but plastered in pannels, which has a pretty effect ; and are generally ornamented with prints, looking-glasses, or whatever else can be procured from Europe ; the floors are likewise plaster, covered all over with fine matt, which is nailed down ; for although carpets are manufactured in some parts of the country, they are such an addition to the heat, that they are seldom made use of ; the rooms are few, but mostly very large and lofty ; many of the new-built houses have glass-windows, which are pleasant to the eye, but not so well calculated for the climate as the old ones, which are made of cane.

Furniture is so exorbitantly dear, and so very difficult to procure, that one seldom sees a room where all the chairs and

couches are of one sort ; people of the /280/ first consequence are forced to pick them up as they can, either from the captains of the European ships, or from China, or having some made by the blundering carpenters of the country, or send for them to Bombay, which are generally received about three years after they are bespoke ; so that those people who have great good luck, generally get their houses tolerably well equipped by the time they are quitting them to return to England.

Beds, or as they are always called, cotts, are no very expensive part of the furniture ; the wood-work, which is exceedingly slight, is made to take in pieces ; the furniture is either gauze or muslin, made to put on all at once ; and people sleep on a thin matrass or quilt ; one sheet, and two or three pillows, complete the bedding ; so that when it is taken in pieces the whole lays in a small compass ; and is easily removed from one place to another : whenever people travel, they always carry their beds with them.

/281/ In the country round the town, at different distances, are a number of very pretty houses, which are called garden-houses, belonging to English gentlemen ; for Calcutta, besides its being a large town, is not esteemed a healthy spot, so that in the hot season all those who can, are much at these garden-houses, both because it is cooler and more healthy.

A little out of the town is a clear airy spot, free from smoke or any encumbrances, called the *Corse*, (because it is a road the length of a *corse*, or two miles), in a sort of ring, or rather angle, made on purpose to take the air in, which the company frequent in their carriages about sun-set, or in the morning before the sun is up.

DOMESTIC SERVANTS

Letter LXVI

Calcutta, July, 1768

/282/ The division of the Indians into *casts* is the cause of great inconveniencies and expence to the English, as it obliges them to hire threetimes the number of servants which would otherwise be necessary ; for none of them, even on the greatest emergency, will perform the most trifling office which does not belong to their particular *cast*.

The first servant is called a *Banian*; he is at the head of all the business, but if it is considerable, he has two or three *Banians* or *Sarcars*¹, under him.

The next is a *Butler Connah Sarcar*; his office is to take an account of all the money expended for provisions, to pay /283/ the butchers, bakers, &c. and answers to a clerk of the kitchen; the next is a *Consummah*, who is the house-keeper, he has under him a *compradore*, who goes to market: the *compradore* buys all small articles for the table, and gives his account to the *butler connah sarcar*; the next is a butler, who is an assistant to the *consummah*.

The other servants, who wait at table, or take care of a gentleman's cloaths, &c. are called *kissmagars*. The *Peadars* usually called *Peons* run before your *palenqueen* and carry messages. The *bearers* are the chairmen, it is necessary for every person in a family to have six or eight of them, the lower casts of *bearers* take their turn to carry the *mussall*² before the *palenqueen*; but the superior *casts* who are cleaner and more creditable will not condescend to touch it, therefore to every set of bearers it is necessary to have at least two boys of a low cast called *Mussall Chies*.

/284/ The *bearers* business, besides carrying the *palenqueen*, is to bring water to wash after dinner, &c. one brings an ewer with water, and pours it over your hands, another gives you a towel, but it must be a *Mussall Chie*, or a slave, who holds the *chillumchee*, for the *bearer* would be disgraced by touching any thing which contains the water after one has washed with it.

A cook in a family will have at least one assistant, if not more, and every horse you keep must have a *scice*, and a grass-cutter.

The *hooker badar*³ will do nothing but dress a *hooker*, and attend his master while he smokes it.

1. *Sarcar*, a lower cast of *Banians*, so called.

2. *Mussall*. A sort of Torch.

3. *Hooka*. "Patna is famous for *hookers* (= the Indian smoking-pipe) which are said to be made better here (Patna) than any part of India, particularly the part called the *chillum*, or the cover for the fire; some of them are copper inlaid with silver, of most curious workmanship". (Kindersley, Letter XXVI, P. 101).

These servants are all men ; and often the only woman in a family is the *Matrannee*, a *Hallicore*, who sweeps the /285/ rooms, and does all the dirty offices which the others will not condescend to.

The servants who attend in a lady's apartment are generally slave girls, or Portuguese women ; and the nurses for children are Portuguese.

The gardeners are called *Mollies* ; like all the other people, many hands do but little work : the men who bring water for the gardens, and other purposes, are called *Busties* ; they carry the water in large leathern bags slung over their backs, at one corner of which there is a sort of spout, which they bring under the right arm ; by that means they water the gardens, and throw it whenever else it is necessary.

The taylors who make your linen are monthly servants ; the slowness of these men can be equalled by nothing but their stupidity. All the linen is washed by men who are paid by the month.

/286/ The *Derwan's* business is to stand at the outward door, to announce visitors ; but they are not generally kept, as a *Peon*, or *Chubdar*, will do that office.

*Chubdar** are men who carry a long silver stick, and do nothing but go before palenqueen, carry messages, or announce visitors. Keeping *Chubdars* is a piece of state allowed by the black people only to officers of dignity in the state ; and by the English is confined to the council and field officers.

The *Banian's* wage is the most considerable, and depends on the situation of his master. The wages of the other servants differ according to their quality : a *Consummah*, Cook, &c. have thirty, /287/ twenty, or ten *rupees* a month ; the others less ; and some of the lowest order not more than three or four *rupees*.

None of the servants ever eat, drink, or sleep in their master's house ; nor will either *Hindoos* or *Mahomedans* eat of any thing which goes from their master's table.

* These silver-stick men who are intended to silence the mob, and impress them with an idea of their master's dignity, obtain their title of *Chubdar* from the word *Chub*, which in the language of the country, means silence. (P. 286)

It is impossible to avoid inconvenience of a multitude of servants ; for if you lessen the number but one, they have a thousand tricks to distress you ; and from your head *Banian* to the lowest *Mussall Chie* in your family, all are combined to oblige you to keep the number which they deem proportioned to your rank.

As their master rises in life, they insist upon more Cooks, more *Peons*, more *Kissmagars*, more *Bearers*, &c. The consequence of a refusal is that those he wants most, particularly *Bearers*, will run away ; and the *Banian*, who is in /288/ the secret, makes so many difficulties in getting others, and has so many well-feigned excuses, and so many artful tricks to make his master feel the want of them, that although people are sensible of the fraud, they are obliged to comply with what their servants call *custom*, to save themselves the numberless vexations they would otherwise occasion. Most of the servants besides insist upon raising their wages in proportion to their master's rank. This they likewise tell him is *all time custom*, a favourite expression with the *Banians* ; and, in their opinion, a sufficient reason for any thing.

Letter LXVII

Calcutta, Sept. 1768.

/289/ Before I take my leave of India, you will naturally expect me to say something of the English, who are now so numerous in the country.

As the Hindoos were heretofore under the Mahomedan government, both Mahomedans and Hindoos, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia, are now under the government of the English.

Calcutta is the presidency ; the governor, assisted by the council, has the direction of all the company's affairs ; which is not merely the superintending of their commerce, but the governing of three rich and extensive provinces ; the direction of a powerful army ; making alliances with the princes of other provinces, or declaring war against them, as they judge most conducive to the advantage of the company, under whose direction they act ; but, on account of the distance from the mother country, much must always be left to their own discretion.

The council are twelve in number ; the other civil servants of the company are senior and junior merchants, factors, and

writers, who rise in progression according to their standing in the service. The merchants who have leave to settle in India, without any employment under the company, are called free merchants.

It is unnecessary to make any observations on the manners of English people ; therefore I shall only mention such customs as, from the heat of the climate, and other causes, are peculiar to this country.

/291/ As the morning and evening is cooler than the day, it is usual to rise early, and sit up rather late ; for after the morning the heat is so intense, that it is difficult to attend to any business, and hardly possible to take any amusement. Ladies mostly retire to their own apartments, where the slightest covering is scarcely supportable. The most active disposition must be indolent in this climate.

After dinner every one retires to sleep ; it is a second night ; every servant is gone to his own habitation ; all is silence : and this custom is so universal, that it would be as unseasonable to call on any person at three or four o'clock in the afternoon, as at the same time in the morning.

This custom of sleeping away the hottest hours in the day is necessary, even to the strongest constitution. After this re-
/292/-pose people dress for the evening, and enjoy the air about sun-set in their carriages, &c. The rest of the evening is for society.

Living is very expensive, on account of the great rents of houses, the number of servants, the excessive price of all European commodities, such as wine, clothes, &c. The perspiration requires perpetual changes of clothes and linen ; not to mention the expences of palanquins, carriages, and horses.

Many of these things, which perhaps appear luxuries, are, in this climate, real necessities of life.

It is remarkable that those Europeans who have health enjoy a greater flow of spirits than in cooler climates.

Except when parties are violent, which is sometimes the case, the society and hospitality is general ; and there is no
/293/ other part of the world where people part with their money to assist each other so freely as the English in India.

ADMIRAL STAVORINUS

John Splinter Stavorinus (1739-1788), Rear Admiral in the service of the States-General, undertook two voyages to the Cape of Good Hope, Batavia, Bantam, and Bengal, during the years 1768-1771. His *Voyages to the East-Indies*, in three volumes, was translated from the original Dutch by Samuel Hull Wilcocke, giving notes and additions and printed for G.G & J. Robinson, Paternoster-Row, London, 1798. Stavorinus's *Voyages* gives a "full and accurate account of all the present and late possessions of the Dutch in India, and at the Cape of Good Hope". The work is illustrated with maps. Volume 1 of Stavorinus's *Voyages* contain "A voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, Batavia, Bantam, and Bengal; with observations on those parts, in the years 1768-1771". Though we could not get details of the career of Stavorinus except what he has stated in his *Voyages*, the following note from Wilcocke's preface is enlightening us on the traveller.

"Mr. Stavorinus was post-captain in the naval service of the States-General ; but a long period of peace, and the little employment that occurred in the Dutch navy for men of enterprize and abilities, prompted him to request permission to go on a voyage to the East-Indies, as captain in the employ of the Dutch East-India Company, retaining, however, his rank of Captain in the navy. The accounts of his two voyages, in that capacity, (1768-1771) are here given ; and his readers will find him, throughout, a man of observation and intelligence. He was afterwards promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, which he held at the time of his death" (iii-iv).

Wilcocke's English translation of the *Voyages* of Stavorinus was evidently published after the author's death as he was described as the "Late John Splinter Stavorinus, Esq."

* * *

APPROACH TO CALCUTTA

Saugor : "The next morning (22nd September 1768) about seven o'clock, we again made sail, steering N.N.E. At

ten we saw the island *Sagor*, which we left upon our right. This island is long and low, and is esteemed sacred by the inhabitants of *Bengal*, who hold it in general veneration" (I : P. 104). . . At sunset, we came to an anchor before the channel of *Cajoree*, where a small vessel came alongside of us, by which I sent up the Company's papers to Hougly. (P. 105).

At three o'clock in the afternoon (23rd September 1768), we passed a village called *Dover*, where the English have built some warehouses, and a factory. There is a good and safe anchorage before it, which is much frequented by their ships, several of which we found lying here : close to it, a channel, called the *Shrimp* Channel, which runs far round into the country, falls into the river. At sunset we were obliged, by the contrary wind and tide, to come to an anchor at *Buffalo* Point, just below a place which the inhabitants call *Adam's-tomb*, and which is distinguishable by a delightful grove of fine trees. (107)

/109/ "Just before I left *Bengal*, the English were intending to erect a battery of heavy cannon, on the point made by the confluence of these rivers (*Hugli* and *Rupnarain*), in order to command the *Ganges*, and to be able to prevent any vessels from coming up it. It is certain, that along the whole course of the river, a more suitable spot for this purpose, could not be hit upon, for ships passing it, have enough to do to work their sails, to avoid striking upon the sands, or being drawn into the *Old Ganges* (= *Rupnarain*) and are thus wholly unable to defend themselves from any attack."

"When we had passed this place, we came in sight of our Company's ships lying at an anchor before *Fultah*, who, as soon as they saw the ensign flying from our top, saluted us with seventeen guns, which we returned with fifteen (P. 109). About half past eight o'clock, when the flood was spent, we came to an anchor by the *Lime* Channel. Shortly afterwards, the *equipagie meester* (comptroller of equipment) of Hougly came on board, to welcome the director, F—; this gentleman informed us, that an English East-India Company's ship had, eight days ago, been wrecked upon the seabanks, at the mouth of the river ; her cargo, to the value of thirteen tons of gold (= a ton of gold is 100,000 gilders ; thus f. 11-per pound sterling, thirteen tons are nearly 120,000 l), was entirely lost; and only forty of the crew saved (pp. 109-110).

A DESCRIPTION OF CALCUTTA

/112/ The following day (24th September 1768), in the afternoon, when Mr. F.—approached the English Settlement of *Calcutta*, he was saluted by nineteen guns from Fort *William*, and received the compliments of two gentlemen of the Council of *Calcutta*, who were deputed from the English governor *Verelst*, in whose name, likewise, he was invited to dine at the settlement : Mr. F—, however, excused himself, on account of the indisposition of /113/ his lady. Mr. *Verelst* had gone on purpose to his country seat, about two hour's walk from *Calcutta*, in order to receive Mr. F—on his arrival, as soon as he understood that his *budgerow*, was coming up the river. When he had passed *Calcutta*, Mr. F—was again saluted from Fort *William*, with nineteen guns. (pp. 112-113)

On 3rd October I (Stavorinus) “embarked (at *Fulta*) at night, on board a *budgerow*, for *Chinsurah*, and arrived the next morning at the village of *Bernagore* ; this is a place belonging to the Dutch East India Company, which is situated halfway between *Chinsurah* and *Fultah*. (P. 115)

On the 10th (October, 1768), the festival of the *Ganges* had been held all along its banks, by the Bengalese, or Gentoos, after some preliminary solemnities of three days ; on which occasion, an incredible number of people came from the inland parts, to be present at the festival. (P. 120)

Approaching *Calcutta*, many gardens, newly laid out by the English, make their appearance, which have handsome dwelling-houses, with an agreeable prospect towards /123/ the river. *Calcutta*, which is built on the left side on going down, about three quarters of an hour's walk along the banks of the river, makes likewise a very pleasing appearance. Before it, the ships lie at anchor, just as before *Chandernagore*, in great numbers. There are almost every day vessels which go to, and come from, every part of India, in motion here ; which greatly enlivens the scene. (pp. 122-123).

A little below *Calcutta*, stands a strong fortress, called Fort *William*, which, built upon the banks of the river, commands it entirely. From this place to *Fultah* there are many Bengal villages interspersed, some of which are very large. (P. 123)

On the 5th of January, 1770, the English governor *Verelst*, leaving the presidency, passed *Fultah*, where two of our ships

were lying at anchor, without receiving any salute from either of them, which was always customary. This afforded matter of great surprize to Mr. Verelst, as he had done all honour to Mr. F—, when this last passed *Calcutta*, as we have before seen. He sent one of his servants on board of the ships, to inquire of the commanding officers, whether they had not received directions from the director V—, or the Council of *Hougly* to fire the accustomed salute? which they answered in the negative. The English government, complained in strong expressions of this behaviour; but were answered on the part of the director V—, that this was in retaliation of a similar affront, which he had received from Mr. Verelst on a national visit to *Calcutta*. (pp. 127-28)

The national visit to the English, to which I was also invited, was appointed to be paid on the 26th of the same month (February 1770). This was chiefly intended to congratulate the new English governor, Cartier, upon his appointment.

We were eight of us, who were present at the visit; and at four o'clock in the afternoon, we went from the director's house to the quay, where the Company's great *budgerow* was lying ready. The garrison was drawn up in two ranks, within the fort, and a detachment, consisting of an officer and twenty-four privates, marched before us, which was to accompany us, as an escort, and to serve as a body-guard to the director. (P. 140)

As soon as our *budgerow* put off from the shore, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the battery. Every one of the company had his own vessel to pass the night in, but in the day-time, we were all on board of that of the director, in which there was a room where six and thirty people could sit down to table. At the masthead of the director's *budgerow*, there was a Prince of Orange's flag*, with the arms of the Union, and those of the other vessels carried a prince's pendent. (pp. 140-41)

Besides ours, there were several other vessels, in which the soldiers were embarked; two that were to be used as kitchens,

* The Prinsevlag, or Prince of Orange's flag, is the name given by the Dutch seamen to the naval ensign of the United Provinces, and the same that is still the national flag, being three horizontal stripes, red, white, and blue. (Note on P. 141)

the victuals being dressed on board of them ; and two as storeships, to carry the provisions. There were, in all, thirty-three vessels of different sizes, which formed a pleasing sight when they were all together. (P. 141)

In the evening, at half past eight o'clock, when the ebb began to sail, we came to an anchor, with our flotilla, a little below *Serampore*. (P. 141)

/142/ At four o'clock on the following morning, upon the turning of the tide, we again proceeded downwards, and at seven, we came to *Chitpore*, situated about a Dutch mile above *Calcutta*, where we stopped for the deputies from the English Council, who were to come to receive the director and his company. Half an hour afterwards they arrived, and paid a visit of welcome to the director, in his *budgerow*. The chief of them was the second in command at *Calcutta*, Mr. Russel.

After a stay of about a quarter of an hour, they conducted the director on shore ; and, followed by the rest of the company, they entered a handsome summerhouse, close to the river, which belonged to Mr. Russel.

We found breakfast prepared for us here, and after stopping an hour, we left this place, in five coaches, sent by the governor for that purpose. Six of his lifeguards on horseback, dressed in blue, with gold-lace, rode by the side of the coach in which the director was. At ten o'clock we were set down in *Calcutta*, at the house prepared for the reception of the director V—. It was a very handsome building, provided /143/ with many and roomy apartments, all furnished in the European style, and hung with damasked silk. It was the property of the little nabob, or minister, Mahommed Reza Chan, who had purchased it of an English gentleman, for 120,000 rupees, and always resided in it when he was at *Calcutta* ; but he was not now in the place, the English government had made use of it. On the area, before it, stood a company of eighty seapoys, under arms, commanded by an European officer, as a guard, in honour of our director ; which continued to do duty as such all the while he remained at *Calcutta*.

When the director alighted before the house, a salute of nineteen guns was fired from Fort *William*.

As soon as we had entered the house, the director, dispatched one of his *chubdars*, with a message to the English governor, who resided in the government-house, next to that in

which we were, to enquire if it were convenient for his Excellency for us to wait upon him in a body. Soon after, however, came that gentleman himself, accompanied by all the members of the council of *Calcutta*, to welcome the /144/ director. After the first complimentary ceremonies were over, Mr. V—said, that the object of this national visit, was to congratulate Mr. Cartier upon his accession to the governorship, adding, as a particular compliment, that he hoped Mr. Cartier would so well manage affairs, as to be able to return to Europe in a few years; to which that gentleman replied with a smile, and expressed his thanks by an amicable interchange of civilities.

These compliments were made and returned, by the director in French, and by the Governor in English, the latter not understanding French, nor the former English, while Mr. Russel performed the office of interpreter.

This visit of ceremony lasted more than an hour. The governor then departed, with the gentlemen of the council. Half an hour afterwards, the director V—went with us to pay a visit of ceremony in return, to the governor, which lasted about three quarters of an hour; at the conclusion of which he conducted us out, accompanying us to the steps, in the same way as the director had done upon receiving his visit just before.

/145/ About half past twelve o'clock, having been formally invited to dinner by the governor, we went again to the government-house.

Here we found, in a large and airy saloon, a table of sixty or seventy covers. The service was entirely of plate. The director was seated at the upper end, on the right hand of the governor, having, on the other side, the general of the English land-forces, being the third person in the council of *Calcutta*, or rather the second, exclusive of the Governor. The other gentlemen in company, were placed promiscuously at table. Full half of the guests were officers of the troops, for whom the Governor keeps every day open house.

When the cloth was taken away, a *hooka*, which is a glass filled with water, through which the smoke of tobacco is drawn, and of which I shall speak further, was set before every one of the company, and after having smoked for half an hour, we all rose from table, and separated each to his respective dwelling.

The conversation was carried on at table, in a free and unconstrained manner, with-/146/-out the company being

under any fear or restraint, from the presence of the Governor, or of other great men. The spirit of liberty, which animates a Briton in his own country, is repressed as little here, as there. This freedom and ease, is diametrically opposite to the stiff and obnoxious formality, which takes place at *Batavia*, in the company of the governor general, and the counsellors of India. Indeed, an Englishman could never brook the insupportable arrogance, with which the Dutch East-India Company's servants are treated by their superiors, as well at *Batavia*, as at the out-factories. It would be well, if this conduct remained solely confined to the Asiatic regions, which gave birth to it; but, unfortunately we see it continued by purse-proud individuals, when they return to a country, where, from the most ancient times, it is known to be in perfect contradiction to the genius and temper of the inhabitants. It is certain that this is one reason, why there are so few to be met with, who serve the Company with fidelity, or a sense of honour. Every one attends solely to the main business, of well and speedily lining his purse; and all look to the /147/ time, when they shall be able to withdraw themselves, from the insolent dominion of an arbitrary government, against which little or nothing can be said or done.

At six o'clock in the evening, Mr. Cartier came to fetch the director V—and his company, to take a ride to his country-seat, *Belvedere*, about two Dutch miles from *Calcutta*, where we were entertained with an excellent concert, performed by some amateurs, and an elegant supper. About twelve o'clock at night, we rode back to *Calcutta*.

The next morning, at nine-o'clock, the Governor came again to pay a visit to Mr. V—, and made him an invitation to dinner, and to a grand ball, which was to be given in the evening, at the courthouse. Hither we went, at seven o'clock, and the ball was opened by Mrs. Cartier and Mr. V—.

The company were very numerous, and all magnificently dressed, especially the ladies, who were decorated with immense quantities of jewels. A collation was served in an adjoining apartment, and the whole /148/ was conducted with great elegance, lasting till the next morning.

This day being appointed for us to set off on our return to *Chinsurah*, we went at nine o'clock in the morning, with the director, to take leave of Mr. Cartier, and the other gentlemen

who had been to see us, and dined at Mr. Russel's, whence we took our departure, about half past three in the afternoon, in coaches, from *Chitpore*, where our little fleet was lying, ready to receive us.

The director was saluted, on leaving the place, as he had been on his arrival, with nineteen guns from Fort *William*. Then six lifeguards of the governor, who always accompanied Mr. V—, when he went out, while he stayed, did not leave us till we came to *Chitpore*, where he gave them a handsome present in money, as he had done to all the servants of the governor who had attended him, which altogether amounted to full a thousand rupees, or fifteen hundred gilders.

The same deputies who had come to *Chitpore*, to receive Mr. V—, conducted /149/ him again on board his *budgerow*. We departed from hence, at sunset, with the flood tide, upwards, and reached *Garetti* early the next morning, where we were received by Mr. Chevalier, at his country-house, and took our breakfast with him. We found here the carriages of the director V—, ready to carry us to *Chinsurah*. (P. 149)

.....(During the departure of V—, Mr. Faillefert, the new Dutch director, accompanied him on 16th March and on their way to Fultah, they stopped at Calcutta). "We arrived the next morning (16th March 1770) at that place, where the directors were saluted with nineteen guns from Fort *William*. We were sumptuously entertained at dinner, by the English governor, and invited in the evening, to be spectators at a play, which, as at *Chandernagore*, was performed by some amateurs, in a house erected for that purpose.. (pp. 156-157)

(Mrs. Faillefert died on the 27th of March, 1770, and was interred, with great pomp, on the 29th. Her husband belonged to the fraternity of free-masons, and all the brethren, and wives of such as were married, wore the mourning of the order, which consisted in a black ribbon hanging on the breast, with the insignia of the order pendent from it—P. 158)

OBSERVATIONS RESPECTING BENGAL

"The women, although of a brown complexion, have engaging countenances, and are well proportioned. They intrigue with spirit, and are uncommonly wanton. They use every artifice to entrap the hearts of their male acquaintance, and especially strangers. Prostitution is not thought a disgrace : there

are everywhere licensed places, where a great number of loose women are kept ; it is a livelihood that is allowed by law, upon payment to the *faujdar*, or sheriff, of the place, of a certain duty imposed upon the persons of the females who adopt this mode of life ; they are generally assessed at half a rupee, or fifteen stivers, per month" (pp. 409-410)

Tigers : "Tigers are very numerous in the woods, and they often sally out into the inhabited places. I saw some of them, which were kept, in wooden cages, by the English at *Calcutta*, of the size of a large calf. The great men of the land take much pleasure in making them fight with other animals, elephants and buffaloes". (pp. 468-69).

TOPOGRAPHY OF CALCUTTA

/493/ *Calcutta*, or *Coulicatta*, as it is called by the Moors, is the capital of the English in *Bengal* ; although unwalled, it may justly deserve the name of a city, from its extent and numerous buildings¹.

It lies on the eastern bank of the *Ganges*, and about thirteen Dutch miles below *Chinsurah*, and nearly thirty from the mouth of the river at *Ingellee*.

The *Ganges* is here full as broad as before our factory, but it is much deeper, and navigable at all times for large sea-ship. All their ships lie before the town, anchored close to the shore, which is very steep, owing to the rapid currents running in the middle of the river ; and the number of vessels seen here continually passing and repassing from all parts of India, give *Calcutta* the appearance of what it really is, a place of great wealth and commerce.

The buildings of the place extend full three miles along the river, and about half as much in breadth from it. There are many large and handsome edifices among them, which do not add a little to the beauty of the town. They would have

1. In Holland, every place that is not fortified, or walled round, is called a village; hence the ridiculous assertion so frequently to be met with, that the *Hague*, is the largest village in Europe; it is, in fact, a large and flourishing town; *London* might, in the same manner, be called a village. (Note on P. 493)

a better effect, if they were built as regularly as at *Batavia* ; but little symmetry or order has been observed in laying out the streets.

In the middle of the city, a large open place has been left, in which there is a great tank or reservoir, covering upwards of twenty-five acres of ground. It was dug by the order of the government, to provide the inhabitants of *Calcutta* with water, as in the dry season the water of the *Ganges* becomes brackish by the influx of the tide, while that in the tank is, on the contrary, very sweet and pleasant. The number of springs which it contains, make the water in it always nearly at the same level. It is railed round, no one may wash in it, but all are at liberty to take as much water from it as they like.

Near the tank, is a stone monument, /495/ erected in memory of thirty English prisoners, both men and women, who, when *Calcutta* was taken by the nabob Surajah Dowlah, were shut up in a narrow prison, without any refreshment, and suffocated for want of fresh air.²

A little farther is the courthouse, over which are two handsome assembly-rooms. In one of these are hung up the portraits of the King of France, and of the late queen, as large as life, which were brought by the English from *Chandernagore*, when they took that place, in the last war.

/496/ Close to the courthouse, stands a theatre, where plays are some times performed by amateurs.

Higher up, is an Armenian church, which is a large and noble building, provided with a handsome steeple.

2. The reader need scarcely be informed, that this mutilated account relates to the well-known tragic event, at the reduction of *Calcutta*, of the suffocation of 123, out of 146 English prisoners, in the *black hole prison*. The scene of this horrid transaction has become proverbial among Englishmen for a place of insufferable torment, and together with the inhuman tyrant, Surajah Dowlah, by whose order our countrymen were devoted to this cruel death. . The monument, which was erected by Mr. Holwell, one of the few survivors, and whose narrative of his sufferings is in every body's hands, is a handsome obelisk, about fifty feet high, inscribed with the names of the persons who died in the black-hole, and whose bodies were promiscuously thrown, the next morning, into the ditch of the fort. (Note on P. 495)

There was not, when I was there, any English church ; but preparations were making for building one, and the necessary materials had been collected.

On the side of the open place, before mentioned, between it and the river, is the old fort, of which nothing remains at present but the walls.

The new fort, which is called *Fort William*, and whence all the letters and resolutions of the presidency are dated, is situated about a quarter of an hour's walk from the city, by the side of the *Ganges*, in an extensive plain. It was begun to be built in the year 1757, when the English had regained possession of *Calcutta*. It is a regular pentagon, with several outworks. The ramparts are built of brick, half way up, finished with clay, and faced with gazons. Both the body of the fortress and the outworks, are surrounded by a wet ditch, which /497/ has a small cunette, of six or seven feet deep, in the middle. The water from the *Ganges*, can be let into the moat, to the height of eight feet, by means of floodgates, of which there are two to each outwork, constructed in such a manner, that if an enemy be masters of one, they cannot prevent, both the main ditch, and those of the other outworks, from retaining their water.

If all the works were mounted with cannon, there would be room for six hundred pieces of artillery.

There are bombproof barracks built within the fort, for ten thousand men. Permission has likewise been given to every inhabitant of *Calcutta*, to build, if he choose it, a house in the fort, provided it be equally bombproof ; but in the year 1770, no one had yet felt any such inclination to avail of this privilege.

All the works are guarded by mines and countermines. No ship can pass up or down the *Ganges* without being exposed to the fire of this fort. No enemy can approach by land, without being discerned at three or four leagues's distance.

The plan of this fortification was made by /498/ an engineer, of the name of Boyer (=Captain John Brohier), who, for some reason of discontent, left the English service, and entered into that of our Company. Another engineer was afterwards sent out from England, to finish it.

Close to the fort, the English were about digging a dry dock, which will be the only one which the Europeans have in India.

They were likewise busy in constructing two batteries of heavy cannon, on the banks of the river, about two leagues below *Calcutta*, one on each side. I was also told, that they intended to erect one, at the confluence of the *Old Ganges*, with *Hougly* river, in order to be wholly masters of the navigation of the *Ganges*.

This nation have thus so firmly rooted themselves in *Bengal*, that, treachery excepted, they have little to fear from an European enemy, especially as they can entirely command the passage up and down the river.

If they ever lose their power here, their fall will, in all probability, proceed from the heavy expences, which they sustain, in keeping up so important a military establishment, and which they cannot do without, in order /499/ to keep the natives in subjection, and prevent insurrections. By this means, however, they will, in time, exhaust the resources of the country; which appears the more likely, if we further take into consideration the extortions of their servants.

....Mr. V—assured me, that he wanted no less than thirty-five thousand rupees a year, for his household expences; and this is but little, in comparison with some of his predecessors, and of the English governor at *Calcutta*, who spends more than one hundred thousand rupees, by his own account, and that of several of the English, who confirmed it to me. (P. 504)

Bernagore is a village which belongs to the (Dutch East India) Company, and, as at *Chinsurah*, the Dutch flag is hoisted, though they have no other of their servants resident here, than an under-officer of the fiscal (or mayor). It lies on the eastern bank of the *Ganges*, ten or twelve leagues below *Chinsurah*. The coarsest sorts of the blue handkerchiefs are made here. The Company have a house, not far from the river, which serves for the temporary accommodation of such of their servants, as land here, in going up or down the river. *Bernagore* is famous on account of the great number of ladies of pleasure, who reside there, and who pay a monthly recognition to the fiscal of *Chinsurah*, for the free exercise of their profession. (P. 519)

EUROPEAN LIFE IN BENGAL

/521/ Europeans lead, in *Bengal*, a very easy life; the men, who are almost all in the service of the Company, devote a part of the morning to attending upon their business, and those who possess any the least fortune, keep a black writer in daily employment, at their houses, for which he receives twenty or twenty-five rupees per month. These black writers are descendants of Portuguese, who having married native women, their offspring have lost the colour of their fathers, and received that of their mothers; but they re-/522/-tain the religion of the former.* They write a good hand, and copy Dutch very accurately, without understanding a word of it. The Europeans are eased by them, of a great part of the little work they would otherwise have to perform. The Europeans spend the remainder of their time, either in revels, or in sleep, though sometimes the latter can scarcely be procured during the excessive heats.

Besides these black writers, most Europeans have also one or two banyans, who note down all payments and receipts, and through whose hands all pecuniary matters go, as well in buying as in selling. They serve, in this capacity, without any fixed pay, but they know how much more they may charge upon every rupee, than they have in reality paid, and this is called *costumado*.

Moorish domestics are kept for the menial services of the house, and *peons* run before the palankeens, and to carry an umbrella, or parasol, over the head of their master, when he goes out.

Every house has likewise a porter, whose sole occupation is to answer the door; and /523/ one or two sets of *berras*, or palankeen-bearers, together with a *barrymaid*, or *matarani*, who carries out the dirt; and a great number of slaves, both male and female.

This mode of life naturally occasions an enormous expenditure. The least in rank stand in need of five or six thousand rupees annually, and even then they must practice economy.

* They are what we call Topasses. (Note on P. 521)

Most people spend twice as much, although their income does not amount to more than half of what they disburse. The dearness of provisions which are brought from Europe, contributes hereto; but perhaps the greatest cause may be traced in the excessive expence which the ladies incur, in the articles of dress and appearance. Domestic peace and tranquillity must be purchased, by a shower of jewels, a wardrobe of the richest clothes, and a kingly parade of plate upon the sideboard; the husband must give all these, or, according to a vulgar phrase, "the house would be too hot to hold him", while the wife never pays the least attention to her domestic concerns, but suffers the whole to depend upon her servants or slaves.

The women generally rise between eight and nine o'clock. The forenoon is spent in /524/ paying visits to their friends, or in lolling upon a sofa, with their arms across. Dinner is ready at half past one; they go to sleep till half past four or five; they then dress in form; and the evening and part of the night is spent in company, or at dancing parties, which are frequent, during the colder season.

Both men and women generally dress in the English style. The ladies affect, for coolness, to wear no covering on their necks, and leave none of the beauties of a well-formed bosom to be guessed at. They are friendly and affable towards strangers, and certainly do not deserve to be called either coy, or cruel. They are fond of parties of pleasure, which are frequently made both upon the delightful banks, and upon the pleasant waves, of the Ganges. Yet these, and all other amusements, are here peculiarly expensive.

'ASIATICUS' (PHILIP DORMER STANHOPE)

Though the *nom de plume* "Asiaticus" was a favourite with more than one writer, there is no doubt that the author of the *Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus* was none other than Philip Dormer Stanhope, Esq., late of the First Regiment of Dragoon Guards. The first edition of the book was published in 1784 by J. Debrett and the author's name was revealed as Philip Dormer Stanhope in the second edition which appeared in the following year. The full title of the book, which is often forgotten is: "Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus, in a series of letters to a friend during five years residence in different parts of India, three of which were spent in the service of the Nabob of Arcot, interspersed with anecdotes of several well-known characters, and containing an impartial account of the confinement and death of Lord Pigot, and of the share the Nabob of Arcot had in that memorable transaction".

Stanhope reached Calcutta in September, 1774 (Letter VII). He left Calcutta on the 30th of December, 1774 for Madras but after surviving a shipwreck on the coast of Orissa, he returned to Calcutta by the end of March 1775. He left Calcutta in April 1775 for the second time and reached Madras on the 30th of May 1775. He joined the services of the Nabob of Arcot, Mahomet Alley, and was posted at Chillingbrum, 18 days' journey from Madras, beyond Pondicherry and Cuddalore. He left the Nabob's service and reached Bombay in February 1778 on his way home. He was in London in October 1778.

Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus was reprinted with an introduction and notes by the Rev. Walter Kelly Firminger under the auspices of the Calcutta Historical Society in 1909 and published by L. Chowdhury & Co. at the Bengal Printing and Publishing House, Hugli. The excerpts quoted in the following pages are from the original edition of 1784, collated with the second edition of 1785.

"Asiaticus" (Philip Dormer Stanhope) should not be confused with Philip Dormer Stanhope, the fourth Earl of Chesterfield, for the fourth Earl died in 1773—the very year *Asiaticus* set out on his travels.

CHANCE DIRECTED

Letter VII

Calcutta, Oct. 1774

/45/ On the tenth of last month we arrived in the river Hughley, and came to an anchor at Culpee, where a Budgeroe, or Indian boat, somewhat resembling a state barge upon the Thames, attended from my friend Hancock¹ to convey me to Calcutta. The navigation of the Hughley is extremely dangerous, from the continual shifting of the sands, and from the numerous shoals, against which the ships are guarded by buoys placed at certain distances, and are directed by small pilot sloops, which at the Company's expence constantly attend the Indiamen. On the banks of the river stands Fort William, which is considerably larger than Madras, /46/ and is garrisoned by an European regiment and by several companies of Seapoys or native soldiers. About a mile further is the town of Calcutta, which is near three leagues in circumference, and is so irregularly built, that it looks as if the houses had been placed wherever chance directed; here the lofty mansion of an English Chief, and there the thatched hovel of an Indian cooly. The Bezars, or markets, which stand in the middle of the town, are streets of miserable huts, and every Indiaman who occupies one of these is called a merchant. There is a noble playhouse²—but no church³, the want of which is supplied by a spacious apartment in the old fort, adjoining to the room so well known by the name of the Black Hole, and rendered famous by the deaths of our unfortunate countrymen, when the Nabob Surajah Dowlah took Calcutta by storm. An English lady⁴, who saw her husband perish at her feet, survived /47/ that miserable catastrophe, and the tyrant was so captivated with her beauty, that he promoted her to the honour of his bed, and she remained seven years in his seraglio, when she was released, at the request of Governor Vansittart, and is now alive at Calcutta.

You know I went out particularly recommended to Mr. Hancock, whom I formerly knew in England, and whose lady is my near relation. I want words to express my gratitude for the favours with which this gentleman has loaded me. He has given me an apartment in his house, has furnished me with a superfluity of all the articles of dress, &c. and even granted me an unlimited order for money on his Sarcar or cash-bearer. You will perhaps laugh at the idea of cash-bearer, but I assure

you in this country no gentleman takes the trouble of keeping his own money. It is entrusted /48/ to the Sarcar, whose friends are responsible for his honesty, and to him all tradesmens bills, and demands for the current expenses of the house, are presented the first of every month. This man is under the control of the Banyan or head steward, who hires and discharges all inferior domestics at his pleasure, and is the agent in all commercial concerns. I have been presented to the Governor General by Mr. Hancock, who has been for many years on terms of the most intimate friendship with him, and to whose recommendation he never fails of paying immediate attention. The manners of Mr. Hastings are extremely engaging, and his deportment totally void of that of ostentatious pride, which too often throws a shade over the virtues of those men, in whom such supreme authority is vested. He possesses a great fund of classical learning, and is perfect master of the Oriental languages. But the most amiable part of /49/ his character is his attention to the distresses of the indigent. To him the widow and the fatherless never apply in vain for relief, nor has he ever been known to withhold the pitying hand of charity from those objects, whose poverty has been the effect of misfortune and not of vice. I have received the most flattering assurances from him, that some provision shall be made for me in the military line ; and I understand from my friend, that it is the intention of the Governor to procure me a lucrative appointment in the service of the Nabob of Oude. At present I shall continue to reside with Mr. Hancock, whose general knowledge of mankind renders him a most agreeable companion, and who, though upwards of fifty years of age, still retains all the fire and pleasantry of youth.

The principal diversions of Calcutta are balls, card parties, and what are called the /50/ Europe shops, which are literally magazines of every European article either of luxury or convenience. These early in the morning are the public rendezvous of the idle and the gay, who here propagate the scandal of the day, and purchase at an immoderate price the toys of Mr. Pinchbeck, and the frippery of Tavistock-street. In the evening the roads for several miles round the town are filled with chariots, whiskeys, and phaetons, each horse being attended by a naked black, who trots close to the carriage, covered with sweat and dust. The palanquins are like the sedan chairs in England, but

carried on the shoulders of men, who sing a most unmelodious song as they run along with their burthen.

Most of the gentlemen, who have resided any length of time in India, are much addicted to the Hooka, a most curious machine for smoking tobacco through water, /51/ the smoke being conveyed by a tube of amazing length, which is called a snake, and is washed with rose-water. Even the writers, whose salary and perquisites scarce amount to two hundred pounds a year, contrive to be attended wherever they go by their Hooka-burdaar, or servant, whose duty it is to replenish the Hooka with the necessary ingredients, and to keep up the fire with his breath. But extravagant as the English are in their Hooka, their equipage, and their tables, yet all this absolute parsimony, when compared to the expences of a seraglio; a luxury which only those can enjoy, whose rank in the service entitles them to a princely income, and whose Haram, like the state-horses of a monarch, is considered as a necessary appendage to Eastern grandeur. However, you would think even this extravagance in some degree pardonable, had you once experienced the attractive charms of an Asiatic /52/ beauty. I have seen ladies of the Gentoo cast, so exquisitely formed, with limbs so divinely turned, and such expression in their eyes, that if you can reconcile yourself to their complexions, you must acknowledge them not inferior to the most celebrated beauties of Europe. For my own part, I already begin to think the dazzling brightness of a copper-coloured face infinitely preferable to the pallid and sickly hue, which banishes the roses from the cheeks of the European fair, and reminds me of the death-struck countenance of Lazarus risen from the grave. The English ladies are immoderately fond of dancing, an exercise ill calculated for the burning climate of Bengal; and in my opinion, however, admissible in cooler latitudes, not a little indelicate in a country, where the inhabitants are covered with no more cloaths than what decency absolutely requires. Imagine to yourself the lovely object of /53/ your affections ready to expire with heat, every limb trembling, and every feature distorted with fatigue, and her partner with a muslin handkerchief in each hand employed in the delightful office of wiping down her face, while the big drops stand impearled upon her forehead; and then ask your own heart, if an Indian damsel, just risen from the limpid bath,

in all the native charms of cleanliness and artless beauty, is not much more likely to inspire you with sentiments of desire and love.

Letter VIII

/54/

Calcutta, Dec. 1774.

When I last wrote to my dear friend, I had flattered myself with the hopes of being speedily fixed in a situation, which would have been attended with considerable pleasure as well as profit, as I had promised myself an inexhaustible fund of entertainment from visiting the interior parts of India. These hopes were at first delayed by a violent inflammation of the liver, which, for three weeks, confined me to my bed, and are now totally cut off by the arrival of the newly appointed members of the Supreme Council⁵, who uniformly oppose every measure that Mr. Hastings recommends, and thus effectually deprive his dependants of that provision, which they looked up to from his goodness and liberality. I am now so weak that I can scarcely hold my pen; and I assure you, that the Knight of La Mancha could not boast a more woeful countenance than what my looking-glass now exhibits to my view. I attribute my disorder to certain acts of intemperance, which I have committed contrary to the advice of Mr. Hancock, who most kindly represented to me the fatal consequences of filling too many bumpers to the health of my absent friends. However, I am now taught a lesson by which I hope to profit in future, and shall henceforward be a better economist of my constitution. I think the old proverb, which says, that misfortunes seldom come singly, is now verified in me. I have received a letter from my father, reprobating in severe terms my attachment to Miss Rivers, and painting in the strongest colours the folly of such romantic engagements. I confess his opinion in some degree to be just, but /56/ I wish that his letter had been couched in more gentle terms. The same ship brought me also a packet from my Charlotte, by which I understand that I had scarcely sailed from England before her old admirer at the Grove renewed his addresses to her, and that her father seemed very much inclined to countenance them. Mr. Rivers had not yet in plain terms declared his sentiments, but had just hinted to her the uncertainty of my return from India; talked of the natural inconstancy of young men; and dwelt much on the happiness of that woman, who should be so fortunate as to engage the

affections of Mr. Greville. Her letter is filled with alternate expressions of hope and fear, her concern at not hearing from me at every place where she imagines we touched during the voyage, and ends as it began with eternal vows of love and constancy.

/57/ Such is the present situation of my affairs. My family is displeased with me ; I have already lost hopes of promotion in Bengal, and am likely to lose my mistress at home. Mr. Hancock advises me to return to Madras, where the recommendations of Mr. Hastings to the Governor of Fort St. George cannot fail of procuring me a commission, and where I may gather perhaps a greater quantity of military laurels than of sterling gold. As soon as my health is perfectly re-established, I believe I shall take his advice, for I see very little prospect of succeeding here, as the numerous dependants, which have arrived in the train of the Judges, and of the new Commander in Chief of the Forces, will of course be appointed to all the posts of any emolument ; and I must do those gentlemen the justice to observe, that, both in number and rapacity, they exactly resemble an army of locusts sent to devour the fruits of the earth.

/58/ The inhabitants of Calcutta seem to be not a little displeased at the new form of government, which the Judges⁶, or, as they call themselves, the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal have already begun to introduce. The Mayor's Court is abolished, and the same legal process which is used at Westminster now prevails. The Attornies, who have followed the Judges in search of prey, as the carrion crows do an Indian army on its march, are extremely successful in supporting the spirit of litigation among the natives, who, like children, delighted with a new play-thing, are highly pleased with the opportunity of harassing one another by vexatious suits ; and those pests of society, called bailiffs, a set of miscreants little known in India, are now to be seen in every street, watching for the unhappy victims devoted to legal persecution. Even the menial servants are now tutored to breathe that spirit of English li-
-centiousness, which teaches the slave to insult his master, and then bring his action of damages at Westminster, if deservedly chastised for his impudence. Arbitrary fines are daily imposed on gentlemen who presume to correct their slaves ; and the house of the Chief Justice of Bengal

resembles the office of a trading magistrate in Westminster, who decides the squabbles of oyster-women, and picks up a livelihood by the sale of shilling warrants.

Letter IX

Calcutta, April, 1775

/60/ The same untoward destiny, which has hitherto blasted all my prospects, has still pursued me, and I have within the short space of a few revolving months experienced all the variegated misery of sickness, shipwreck, captivity, and hunger. Finding my views in Bengal so cruelly disappointed, and hoping that the recommendations of the Governor General would procure me a permanent establishment at Madras, on Christmas day I bid adieu to my generous benefactor, and embarked on board a country vessel, so called in contradiction to the ships of Europe, and navigated by Lascars, or Indian sailors. We fell down the river without any accident, and the season of the year being not un-/61/-favourable, our Commander, who had been many years in the service, and was perfectly acquainted with the navigation of the Indian seas, flattered us with the agreeable prospect of a speedy voyage to Madras. However, that ruling destiny, which presides over the events of this world, had ordained it otherwise, and I was doomed to meet with every aggravated distress, which a tempestuous sea and an inhospitable shore could heap upon me.

On the 30th of December our pilot left us, and we congratulated ourselves on our escape from the shoals and quicksands so dangerous to inexperienced navigators in the mouth of the Ganges. On the first of January, about seven in the evening, the wind freshened so much, and the sky bore so threatening an appearance, that the Captain thought it necessary to take in part of his sails, and prepare for the approaching /62/ gale. Before five the next morning it blew a perfect hurricane, and in a few hours more the Lascars, who are active enough in fine weather, but are most egregious cowards in the moment of danger, were so over-powered with fatigue and terror, that they forsook the deck; nor could all the endeavours of the Captain, who remonstrated, begged, and even threatened them with immediate death, bring them back to their duty. In this situation, while the waves broke incessantly over the deck, and

swept away everything before them, we remained at the mercy of the elements till about two in the morning of the third, when the vessel struck with such violence upon the ground, that the masts went overboard; the lower parts of the ship were filled with water, and we sat almost petrified in the cabin, in momentary expectation of being launched into eternity. Under these shocking circumstances, nearly suffocated with the water which poured in upon us, and trembling lest the ship should part, from the violence with which she thumped, we remained till the dawn of day, when, with difficulty, we crawled upon the deck; and discovered land at the distance of about six leagues, surrounded by breakers, and seeming to tantalize us with a view of that safety which we imagined beyond our reach. However, the Captain, whose resolution throughout this trying scene had never forsaken him, now recommended to us to exert all our strength in preparing a raft, which might convey those on shore whom the only remaining boat could not contain; and he entreated us not to neglect this opportunity which Providence had offered for our relief, while the ship should hang together. Animated by his example, we laboured with all the diligence of men struggling for their lives, and soon completed a raft of such booms and masts as the sea had spared us, and launched at upon the waves. On this awkward machine, so hastily put together, and fastened only with ropes, we embarked, twenty-six in number, and committed ourselves to the ocean. In less than ten minutes we saw the boat, which the Lascars had loaded to the water's edge, overwhelmed by a mountainous wave, and almost at the same instant the ship went to pieces, and the wretched part of the crew, who, stupified with despair, had awaited their fate upon the deck, were buried in one watery grave. It was not a season for us to lament the fate of others. We each moment expected to share the same destiny, having neither sail nor paddle to direct our raft, when a huge surf overset the unwieldy machine, and twelve of our companions, sunk to rise no more. The rest with infinite difficulty regained the raft, which being now considerably lightened, the wind blew us gradually towards the shore where about half an hour before sun-set, we landed almost fainting with fatigue and hunger, and our limbs so benumbed with cold, that we were utterly unable to seek for a place of shelter, either from the inclemency of the weather, or from the fury of those beasts, which we

apprehended would prove less merciful to us than the ocean which we had just escaped from.

Our fears, however, proved groundless, and we recruited our wasted spirits by a profound sleep, uninterrupted by the visitors which we so much dreaded, and whose presence afterwards became familiar to us. Our first object in the morning was to discover a spring of freshwater, that we might allay our thirst, through which we had suffered considerably during the last four-and-twenty hours. This we were fortunate enough to accomplish, and we then commenced our journey along with the sea-shore, and after travelling about two leagues arrived on the banks of a river, the water of which we found brackish and unpalatable. Here we observed the footsteps of men, and from the smoke which we perceived issuing from amidst the trees in a neighbouring grove, we justly concluded that we should find an Indian village. As our circumstances admitted of no hesitation, we marched boldly on, and after pursuing the tract for about a mile, we arrived at a spot covered with a few paltry huts, the inhabitants of which fled precipitately at our approach, notwithstanding our tokens of submission, and the wretched appearance of our defenceless company, which was more calculated to inspire pity than terror. However, as our appetites became rather pressing, we took possession of their huts without ceremony, where we found abundance of rice, and several earthen vessels filled with the liquor of the cocoa-nut, which proved a most comfortable meal to poor creatures, who had actually kept a most rigid fast for at least three days. We had scarcely finished our breakfast, and were forming our future plan of operations, when we were alarmed by the sound of horns, trumpets, and several other uncouth instruments, which the Indians make use of when they go to battle; and peeping out of our hiding places, we found ourselves surrounded by at least five hundred men, armed with matchlocks, pikes, sabres; and bows of an amazing length. We immediately implored their mercy and protection by the most submissive gestures, and fortunately a Lascar speaking the language of the country, explained to them the circumstances of our shipwreck, and assured them they should be most liberally rewarded, if they would conduct us to the nearest English settlement. An elderly Indian, who, from the respect which the rest paid him, appeared to be their Chief, assured us of his protection, and ordered us to

be conducted to a hovel on the outskirts of the village, where we were desired by our guards to repose ourselves, and were permitted the honour of sitting down among their oxen, which in India are used as beasts of burthen, and enjoy at least as comfortable habitations as their masters. They did not, however, omit the previous ceremony of stripping us of every thing valuable we had about us. Our watches, buckles, and what little money we had in our pockets were soon taken from us, with as much avidity and as little ceremony as if we had been cast away on the western coast of England, and fallen into the hands of the humane inhabitants of Cornwall.

We found that the fatal spot, where our ship and the major part of her unhappy crew had perished, was called Carrica Bay, situ-/69/-ate midway between Point Palmyra and False Point, places well known to the Indian navigators, and, like the Charybdis of old, rendered famous by the destruction of unfortunate mariners. We were now reduced to the miserable situation of subsisting on the charity of savages, naked, helpless, and imploring the pity of the inhabitants of that once happy country, whose provinces have been desolated, and whose sons have so oft been sacrificed on the altars of European avarice. However, our captivity was not of long continuance; a Lascar having found the means to escape to Balasore, where he communicated the particulars of our distress to the English Resident, and convinced him of the necessity of taking some speedy measures for our relief. Mr. Marriot, whose humanity and benevolence I shall ever acknowledge in the highest terms of gratitude, made immediate application to the Rajah of Catak, then in al-/70/-liance with the Company, to whose authority our masters were, in some degree, subjects, and procured an order for our release, and for a guard to attend us to Balasore. I believe little attention would have been paid to this order, had not Mr. Marriot prudently hinted to the Rajah, the consequence of the Governor General's displeasure, should the servants of the Company be detained or ill-treated in those districts over which he presided. This had its proper effect upon the Rajah, who took such effectual steps to restore us to our liberty, that on the twenty-sixth of February we were permitted to proceed on our journey, and were escorted by a body of men sufficient to protect us from insults upon the road. Our little company was now reduced to four Europeans, and six Lascars, the second mate of the ship

having fallen a martyr to fatigue and sickness ; Mr. Edwards, a writer on the Madras establishment, a most ami-/71/-able young man, and who deserved a better fate, having expired in the greatest agonies from the bite of a snake ; and a Portuguese surgeon having suddenly disappeared, whether, after the example of the Lascar, he escaped to some neighbouring settlement, or was devoured by tygers in the woods, we never learnt. We proceeded, by easy marches, through a country beautiful, by nature, but utterly destitute of cultivation ; and, for the first three days met with no accident that could interrupt our tranquillity, or diminish the joy we felt at our approaching deliverance. On the morning of the fourth, as we travelled during the side of a large wood, the chief mate unfortunately loitering behind, and perhaps careless from the security of the preceding days, was seized by a tyger that had lurked beneath a thicket, and was carried instantly from our view, in spite of all our endeavours, and the united efforts of our guard /72/ to save him. It is remarkable, that this unhappy man had ever treated the Lascars under his command with such severity, that his name inspired them with terror. It was believed, that more than one had died through his cruelty ; and, during the few days which preceded our shipwreck, he had omitted no opportunity of chastising these inoffensive creatures for the most trifling fault. I sincerely pitied him in the moment of his untimely death, but, I think, I shall not be deemed uncharitable, if I express a wish, that every tyrant may meet a similar fate. For where shall the oppressor of his fellow-creatures find so proper a tomb, as in the maw of the most ferocious of the brute creation ?

During the rest of our journey we met with no other inconvenience than what must necessarily arise from fatigue, and from the want of shoes to protect our feet, /73/ from the loose stones, of which the roads were full, and on the sixteenth of March arrived safe at Balasore. Here we were entertained with every possible mark of attention by Mr. Marriot⁷, who furnished us with wearing apparel in great abundance, and politely insisted on our remaining a few days with him, that we might, at his hospitable table, recover health and spirits to prosecute our journey to Calcutta. We spent a most agreeable week with this worthy gentleman, to whom I shall ever hold myself indebted for my deliverance from captivity and death ; and then embarked in a small sloop for Calcutta, which we

reached without any accident, to the surprize and joy of our friends, who had supposed us buried in the ocean, and now received us as men risen from the grave. My obligations to Mr. Hancock on this occasion, are beyond the power of words to express. He had, with unfeigned sorrow, /74/ lamented my untimely end, and he now welcomed my return to life and liberty with tears of sincere affection. The Governor General too, whose generous heart ever feels for the distresses of the unfortunate, in the politest terms congratulated me on my deliverance, and renewed his offer of recommendations to Madras.

In a very few days I shall tempt the faithless ocean, but shall previously appease the God of Tempests, by frequent libations of Mr. Hancock's claret, which, I believe, to be full as acceptable an offering as the celebrated Falernum of the ancients.

NOTES

1. HANCOCK—Dr. Tysoe Saul Hancock, whose guest Philip Dormer Stanhope was in Calcutta, was appointed a Surgeon in the Company's service in 1748. After serving as Surgeon at Davecottah and Fort St. David, he was transferred to Bengal in June 1759. He was entertained a surgeon at Fort William on 3rd July. He resigned the Company's service in November 1761 for going home. He was granted permission by the Court of Directors to return to Bengal in 1768 and accordingly returned to Calcutta in 1769, but "not to rise in service". He had married Philadelphia Austen, a sister of the Rev. George Austen, the father of Jane Austen, the novelist, in 1751, at Fort St. David. Dr. Hancock, while in Bengal, attended more to commercial enterprise than to medicine. He lived at Larkin's Lane in Old Court House Street. He died on November 5, 1775, at the age of 79, and lies buried at South Park Street cemetery. Dr. Hancock was a *protege* of Warren Hastings and the Governor General extended all possible help to Mrs. Hancock.

2. PLAY-HOUSE—This is not the playhouse in Lal Bazar so famous in the story of the siege of Calcutta in 1756, but the theatre which had been erected in 1774 on the site now occupied by the business house of M/s Finlay, Muir & Co. (now James Finlay & Co., Ltd.—just behind Writers' Buildings).

3. CHURCH—The allusion is to St. John's Chapel. Archdeacon Hyde conjectured that this edifice was consecrated with masonic ceremonies, on St. John the Baptist's day in June, 1760, when Holwell, a prominent Freemason, was Governor : but it is on record that the Surveyor did not report the Chapel as ready for use until July 17th. The Chapel adjoined the Black Hole, then used as a store-room. It was 110 ft. long and 91 ft. 6 inches in breadth.

4. LADY—The reference is to Mrs. Carey, one of the survivors from the horrors of the Black Hole. Mrs. Carey was a native (Portuguese-progeny) lady. She was the wife of Peter Carey, a Naval Officer, who was suffocated in that fatal prison. Mr. Holwell informs us she was then in the bloom of youth and beauty, which caused her detention, and when the other prisoners were liberated, this charming weeping captive was led to grace the Zenana of the General, Meer Jaffier, from whence she shortly afterwards escaped to Calcutta and the protection of the reinstated English. She died on March 28, 1801. (Hawkesworth's *The EAST INDIA CHRONOLOGIST*, 1801, P. 80.) She was 61 years of age at the time of death and lived at Portuguese Church Street.

5. SUPREME COUNCIL—The newly-appointed Members of the Council—Lt. General John Clavering, Col. George Monson, and Philip Francis—arrived in Calcutta on 19th October 1774. Richard Barwell joined them two days later.

6. JUDGES—Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Justice ; Robert Chambers, Stephen Le Maistre, and John Hyde—Puisne Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature—also reached Calcutta on 19th October, 1774.

7. MARRIOT—Randolf Marriot, who was the Chief at the Company's Balasore factory.

WILLIAM MACKINTOSH

"*TRAVELS IN EUROPE, ASIA, AND AFRICA*, describing characters, customs, manners, Laws, and Productions of Nature and Art, containing various remarks on the Political and commercial Interests of Great Britain, and delineating, in particular, a New System for the Government and Improvement of the British Settlements in the East Indies : Begun in the year 1777, and finished in 1781" appeared in two volumes in 1782. The work was printed for J. Murray, No. 32 Fleet-Street, London. Though published anonymously, the authorship is generally attributed to Macintosh who has been identified as William Mackintosh. A French translation of the work appeared in Paris in the same year (1782) and a German one in 1785 at Leipzig. It seems that "Mackintosh's Travels", as the work was called, obtained a wide circulation ; and, for a time, considerably biassed the public mind.

Charles MacFarlane, the author of "Our Indian Empire", was of the opinion that the name of Mackintosh was "clearly a *nom de guerre*. If such an individual had existed, and if he had been capable of writing so well, without assistance, he would have been heard of again ; so he could scarcely have failed, in that day, when good writers were far from numerous, of attaining to celebrity. No such Macintosh was ever heard of after the publication of the book. The writer of that shuns all the subjects in which Philip Francis was awkwardly implicated during his residence at Calcutta ; for example, he says not a syllable about Monsieur and Madame Le Grand, and the crim. con. trial, at which Sir Elijah Impey presided. His attack on the Chief Justice is more guarded ; and it is worthy of remark, that, though he gives the name in full length of Sir Robert Chambers, and the initials of the two other judges, and of many other functionaries, he gives neither the name, nor so much as the initials of Sir Elijah Impey . . ."

There is internal evidence of having the "Macintosh's Travels", if not written, at least revised and augmented by Philip

Francis, the author of *Junius*, himself, though it passed under the name of Macintosh. Moreover, it was an open secret at that time, that the *Travels* was printed at the expense of Philip Francis as part of his scheme to asperse the character and compass the overthrow of Governor-General Warren Hastings. William Mackintosh, about whom little is known but what he himself has stated in his work, travelled in the French ship *Brisson* bound for Pondicherry. His only other English companion was the Rev. Thomas Yate, a garrison Chaplain of Fort William, Bengal.

* * *

Letter 52 : A PLAN FOR NEW MODELLING THE
GOVERNMENT AND TOWN OF CALCUTTA.

To J-M-Esq., London.

Calcutta, Dec. 13, 1779

/174, Vol. II/. . . There are few circumstances of a public nature that we are more disreputable to the conduct of the English in India, than the plan and general government of the town of Calcutta in Bengal. . . It is nevertheless a truth, that from the western extremity of California in America to the eastern coast of Japan, there is not a spot where judgment, taste, decency, and conveniency, are so grossly insulted as in that scattered and confused chaos of houses, huts, sheds, streets, lanes, alleys, windings, gutters, sinks, and tanks, which, jumbled into an undistinguished mass of filth and corruption, equally offensive to human sense and health, compose the capital of the English Company's government in India. The /175/ very small portion of cleanliness which it enjoys, is owing to the familiar intercourse of hungry jackals by night, and ravenous vultures, kites, and crows by day. In like manner it is indebted to the smoke raised in public streets, in temporary huts and sheds, for any respite it enjoys from musquettoes, the natural production of stagnated and putrid waters. But while the smoke, issuing from numberless places, saves the inhabitants of Calcutta from one evil, it subjects them to another ; for by endeavouring to shut it out at windows and doors, they are forced also to shut out pure air at the hours of retirement, when its use is most essential to respiration and health.

Assuredly, no people upon earth have so much reason to be grateful to Providence, as those of Calcutta, for having so long miraculously preserved themselves and their properties from those dreadful devastations which naturally arise from a total neglect and abuse of fire. Every /176/ house and office seems to be propped by huts (which in the language of the country are called Choppers) composed of bamboos; their sides, tops, and floors being covered with mats, straw; or long grass. In these huts, formed of such inflammable materials, as well as in the public streets and vacant spaces, fires are constantly preserved, as they were of old by vestals in heathen temples. These choppers are the habitations of careless servants, palanquin bearers, coolies, and horses. They are also used for the purpose of sheltering carriages. To these choppers, or to a more suspicious cause, is the loss of more than twenty-two lacks of rupees, consumed in one of the Company's warehouses on the memorable *fifth of November last*, confidentially attributed.—The public bear these nuisances with wonderful patience, although they are taxed to the extent of about 80,000 rupees annually, for the express purpose of establishing a police in Calcutta. The heavy tax is applied, in conformity with the general /177/ maxims that direct the conduct of the Company's principal servants, to the purpose of enriching some favoured tool, under the unmeaning denomination of *Jemmadar*, and the appointment of several hundreds of inferior tyrants, oppressors, and tax-gatherers. Of this tax thus levied by authority, it is said, that a quarter part is distributed amongst *inferiors*, and the remaining three parts become the plunder of the *chief*, who openly licenses nuisances as the valuable consideration for pecuniary gratifications, formally stipulated and regularly paid. As to the under-officers of the police, they are by no means deficient in following the honourable example of the *Jemmadar*, by the connivance, or actual commission of thefts, robberies, and abuses of various kinds.

The disease is too far advanced to be speedily remedied by the application of any medicine, however powerful its general efficacy. The property of individuals is too sacred to be violated, and too con-/178/-siderable to be purchased; and various prejudices, passions, and opinions of men, will never freely concur in any measure, however obvious its utility to the public. If ever the police of Calcutta be put on a proper foot-

ing, it will neither be owing to the wisdom or virtue of the Company's servants in India : the reform must originate in Leadenhall-street, and be authorized by the British parliament.

Whatever plan shall be adopted for establishing a proper police in Calcutta, may be carried into execution by a constitutional body, consisting of the governor-general, the supreme council of the Indies, and a certain limited number of persons, properly qualified, and elected by the free and copy-holders of Calcutta, to represent them for these special purposes in general assembly. These three estates should be invested with legislative powers, sufficient for enacting laws for resuming, selling, throwing down, re-building, repairing, lengthening, widening, cleansing, drain-/179/-ing and doing every thing consistent with justice to individuals, that may be necessary for building houses, of making streets, squares, tanks, drains, and establishing a regular police within the city and precincts of Calcutta ; and also for assessing and levying taxes, duties, and imposts on the inhabitants thereof, for these purposes. . .

../180/..Perhaps it would favour both the advancement of commerce, and the scheme of re-building, and reforming the police of Calcutta, that some other place than that town should be allotted for the chief seat of government. The only part of the present city worth preserving, is upon or near the Esplanade, which is principally /181/ occupied by the immediate members of government, and courts of justice : the remaining parts of the town are composed of such base materials, that they will be demolished in a very few years by the weather. The houses upon and near the esplanade and grand tank, are capable of accommodating such a number of those who now reside in the noxious part of the town, as to enable the commissioners, after an accurate survey, and a judicious attention to particular good houses and streets, to commence in a short time the new modelling thereof, without subjecting the inhabitants to any serious inconveniences. It is notorious, that the waters which settle in Calcutta, although lower than the river when the tide is up, may be conveyed, at a small expence, to the canals or mullas which communicate with the salt lake.

The next object of consideration should be, where to fix the seat of government. Doubtless, the wealth and superior im-/182/-portance of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, as well as

many other advantages which they possesses, without reckoning up the army, which is entertained and stationed in them, and the superb fortress of Fort William, are motives abundantly sufficient to cast the scale in their favour, if it could be supposed to remain for a moment in suspence. It is of no importance, in the choice of the seat of government, which of these provinces is the most central to the British dominions in India, as wheresoever it is, it will become the general resort, especially in a country where such respect is paid to the civil power, and where the principles of personal address and politeness are better understood and practised, than in any other upon earth. Justice and sound policy conspire to point out the propriety of accommodating the remote provinces with assizes and inferior courts of justice, to relieve the people from the grievous charges and personal inconveniences with which justice has of late years been purchased in Calcutta... (Plea for making Chandernagore the capital).

* *

*A DAY, AS IT IS COMMONLY SPENT BY AN
ENGLISHMAN IN BENGAL.*

Letter 55 To J-M-Esq. ; London *Calcutta, Dec. 23, 1779*

/214/ I am now to fulfil my promise, to give you a particular account of the day, as it is commonly spent by an Englishman in Bengal.

About the hour of seven in the morning, his durvan (porter or door-keeper) opens the gate, and the viranda (gallery) is free to his circars, peons (footmen), harcarrahs (messengers or spies), chubdars (a kind of constables), huccabadars and consumas (or steward and butler), writers and solicitors. The head-bearer and jemmadar enter the hall, and his bed-room at eight o'clock. A lady /215/ quits his side, and is conducted by a private stair-case, either to her own apartment, or out of the yard. The moment the master throws his legs out of the bed, the whole posse in waiting rush into his room, each making three salams, by bending the body and head very low, and touching the forehead with the inside of the fingers, and the floor with the back part. He condescends, perhaps to nod or cast an eye towards the solicitors of his favour and protection. In

about half an hour after undoing and taking off his long drawers, a clean shirt, breeches, stockings, and slippers, are put upon his body, thighs, legs, and feet, without any greater exertion on his own part, than if he was a statue. The barber enters, shaves him, cuts his nails, and cleans his ears. The chullumjee and ewer are brought by a servant, whose duty it is, who pours water upon his hands, to wash his hands and face, and presents a towel.—The superior then walks in state to his breakfasting parlour in his waistcoat; is seated; the consumah /216/ makes and pours out his tea, and presents him with a plate of bread or toast. The hair-dresser comes behind, and begins his operation, while the huccabadar softly slips the upper end of the snake or tube of the houcca* into his hand. While the hair-dresser is doing his duty, the gentleman is eating, sipping, and smoking by turns. By and bye, his banian presents himself with humble salams, and advances somewhat more forward than the other attendants. If any of the solicitors are of eminence, they are honoured with chairs.—/217/ These ceremonies continued perhaps till ten o'clock; when, attended by his cavalcade, he is conducted to his palanquin, and preceded by eight to twelve chubdars, harcarrahs, and peons, with the insignia of their professions, and their livery distinguished by the colour of their turbans—and cumberbands (a long muslin belt wrapt round the waist;) they move off at a quick amble; the set of bearers, consisting of eight generally, relieve each other with alertness, and without incommoding the master. If he has visits to make, his peons lead and direct the bearers; and if business renders his PRESENCE ONLY necessary, he shews himself, and pursues his other engagements until two o'clock, when he

* The houcca is the machine from which the smoke of tobacco and aromatics are inhaled, through a tube of several feet, or even yards in length, which is called the snake. To shew the difference or indulgence shewn by ladies to the practice of smoaking, I need but transcribe a card for the governor general and his lady's concert and supper.

Mr. and Mrs. H—s present their compliments to Mr—, and request the favour of his company to a concert and (s) upper on Thursday next, at Mrs. H—s's house in town.
1st October, 1779.

The concert to begin at eight o'clock.

Mr. . . is requested to bring no servants except his huccabadar.

and his company sit down, perfectly *at ease* in point of dress and address, to a good dinner, each attended by his own servant. And the moment the glasses are introduced, regardless of the company of ladies, the houccabadars enter, each with a houcca, and presents the tube to his master, watch-/218/-ing behind and blowing the fire the whole time. As it is expected that they shall return to supper, at four o'clock they begin to withdraw without ceremony, and step into their palanquins; so that in a few minutes, the master is left to go into his bed-room, when he is instantly undressed to his shirt, and his long drawers put on; and he lies down on his bed, where he sleeps till about seven or eight o'clock: then the former ceremony is repeated, and clean linen of every kind, as in the morning, is administered; his huccabadar presents the tube to his hand, he is placed at the tea table, and his hair-dresser performs his duty as before. After tea, he puts on a handsome coat, and pays visits of ceremony to the ladies: returns a little before ten o'clock; supper being served at ten. The company keep together till between twelve and one in morning, preserving great sobriety and decency; and when they depart, our hero is conducted to his bed-room, where he finds a female companion, /219/ to amuse him untill the hour of seven or eight next morning.—With no greater exertions than these, do the Company's servants amass the most splendid fortunes.—I am &c.

MRS. ELIZA FAY

Mrs. Eliza Fay was born in 1756, perhaps at Blackheath. Her father was a sailor, as was evident from her reference to his familiarity with the wind's eye, and to her own resemblance to him when disguised in a pair of striped trousers. He died in 1794 and her mother had predeceased him in 1783. There were two sisters, one of whom apparently married to a Mr. Thomas W. Preston. She had, no doubt, some formal education; otherwise she could have not become a barrister's wife. She had picked up French, Italian, Portuguese and Hindustani. In music she loved a Nicolai Sonata, and she was capable of backgammon and cards, though rapidly fatigued by either, and invariably worsted at chess.

Eliza was married to Anthony Fay, who was of Irish extraction. He was the only son of Francis Fay, gentleman, Rotherhithe, Surrey. He was called to the Bar by the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn. With the resolution of practising in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William, Mr. Fay, accompanied by his young wife (23), travelled overland to India, through France and over the Alps to Italy, whence embarking at Leghorn they sailed to Alexandria in Egypt. Having visited some of the curiosities in this interesting country, and making a great stay at Grand Cairo, they pursued their journey across the Desert to Suez. After passing the Red Sea, the ship in which they sailed, touched at Calicut. They had left Dover on the 10th April, 1779, and reached the coast of Malabar, on the 8th November, the same year.

Hyder Ali had conquered Malabar in 1766 and governed the province through his brother-in-law, Sardar Khan. As soon as the Fays landed at Calicut, Sardar Khan, Governor of Calicut, ordered their imprisonment along with Mr. & Mrs. Tulloh, Mr. John Hare & his servant Lewis, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Manesty, Mr. Fuller and John, the gunner. The Fays were released on February 17, 1780, whereas the others got their freedom on December 16, 1779. Mrs. Fay reached Madras on 4th April

1780, after spending a few days at Cochin. They were in Calcutta by May, 1780. Mrs. Fay's first visit to Calcutta lasted from May 1780 to April 9 1782.

"When my husband waited on Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice, to show his credentials, he met with a most flattering reception. It so happened that he was called to the Bar from Lincoln's Inn itself, and seemed quite at home while perusing the papers, being acquainted with the handwriting of the officers who prepared them, and perhaps that circumstance might render him more partial. On Mr. Fay's expressing some apprehensions lest his having come out without the leave of the E.I. Company might throw obstacles in the way of his admission to the Bar here, Sir Elijah indignantly exclaimed: "No Sir, had you dropped from the clouds with such documents, we would admit you. The Supreme Court is independent and will never endure to be dictated to by any body of men whose claims are not enforced by superior authority. It is nothing to us whether you *had* or *had not* permission from the Court of Directors to proceed to this settlement. You come to us an authenticated English barrister, and as such we shall on the first day of the next term admit you to *our Bar*". He was admitted to the Bar on 16th June, 1780. In less than two years he had run into debt, alienated his professional friends and produced an illegitimate child. He was engaged to defend James Augustus Hicky, editor of the *Bengal Gazette*, "or the Original Calcutta General Advertiser", in the case brought against him by Warren Hastings. Fay had gone over to the opposition camp headed by Francis who were scheming designs for the impeachment of Hastings and Impey.

"Mrs. Fay's account of her husband is confirmed by an illuminating and scathing passage in the Impey Mss. (B.M. 16260). Writing from Patna, under the date of August 31, 1781, Sir Elijah Impey speaks of Colonel Watson's hostility and then continues:

"This very man is at this time pushing his animosity against me in another way. There is a very low man here of the name of Fay, who had been called to the Bar in England, and, therefore, I thought it proper he should be admitted an advocate here. The man at Watson's instigation as I believe has drawn the paper a copy of which I herewith transmit.

"He entertains him, as I am informed, in his house, and means to send him to England with the paper. Fay sent it to me in an hand imitating printing...He did not say who was the prosecutor employing him". (Forster's note to his edition of *Original Letters*, p. 282.)

This corroborates Rev. Firminger's surmise whether "Anthony Fay was such a fool as his wife has made him to appear. The fact that he started without the Company's permission to reside, and travelled by unusual routes and foreign ships, refused to call on the Judges, etc., etc., gives colour to the suspicion that he had really been sent out by some foe to prepare for that impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey on which ultimately we find him at work. If this were indeed the case, his wife, although deceived into believing that he seriously intended to practise as a Barrister, may to some extent have been misled by some of her husband's prejudices. The acerbity of her account of Hastings' wife has been noticed : of Hastings himself she writes : 'He will never desert a friend, or forgive an enemy :' but it becomes clear that she changed her mind to some extent. She clearly came to see that her husband's attack on Sir Elijah Impey would extend to her benefactor, Sir Robert Chambers. In October 1778, Impey accepted the Presidency of the Sadr Diwani Adalat, and this was put forward as the taking of a bribe ; but Chambers, who had to some extent been regarded as a possible ally by Francis, followed suit by accepting the office of Judge of Chinsurah. This, I take it, is what Mrs. Fay alludes to when, in connection with the articles of impeachment, which Anthony Fay was drawing up, she writes : 'the character of a highly revered friend is obliquely glanced at, and may be in the future more seriously implicated in the business". (Firminger, Introduction, vi-vii). Fay went back to England perhaps to prepare the ground for the impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey and we hear no more of him (dead by 1815).

Mrs. Fay returned to England on 7th February 1783. Her second visit to Calcutta was in 1784. Humbler in social outlook, she thought of starting a seminary for young ladies, but gave up the idea for mantua-making. She became bankrupt in 1788 and returned to England in 1794. Her voyage to India was in the *Minerva*, in which she had some financial stake. She reached Calcutta in 1796, but only stayed there for six months. She went in the *Rosalie* to America, and

reached New York on September 3, 1797. In 1816, she sailed for Calcutta for the fourth and last time, on the *Sir Stephen Lushington* and died there on September 9, 1816, aged sixty. She was buried the day after her death, in one of the Calcutta cemeteries, no one knows in which, and there her career comes to an end.

It is not known where she and her husband set up house in the first instance. They stayed with a Portuguese family in the first instance and afterwards hired a house for Rs. 200 per month "not in a part of the town much esteemed". She lived in Old Post Office St., at the S.W. corner of St. John's Churchyard, where Church Lane and Hastings Street meet together, from 1784 onwards. The house belonged to her, as was evident from her letter addressed to the Vestry of St. John's (Firminger, vii-viii).

A Portrait of Mrs. Fay donning Egyptian costume was painted by A. W. Devis, who was in Calcutta in 1784 and was engraved by T. Alais for the frontispiece of her "Original Letters".

Mrs. Fay's effects were put up for sale by her old enemy, the auctioneer Tulloh, in 1816. Prices did not run high. A book entitled *Thoughts and Remarks on Establishing an Institution for the support and Education of Unfortunate respectable Females* only fetched one rupee fourteen annas, while *Thoughts and Remarks on a Protestant Nunnery* went for even less. Scott, Mrs. Barbauld, Hannah More, Lady Morgan and introductions to chess also occur in the list, also oddments of household furniture and millinery, also a Welch wig, two pianos, and a gold watch (which went cheaply).

ORIGINAL LETTERS from India; containing a narrative of a journey through Egypt and the author's imprisonment at Calicut by Hyder Ally, to which is added an Abstract of three subsequent voyages to India by Mrs. Fay was printed by her administrator, "who from a view of benefiting the estate has been induced to undertake the present publication" in 1817. He was justified in his undertaking, for the book was sold out within four years, bringing in a profit of Rs 220. This called for a reprint of the work in 1821, which omitted the advertisement appearing at the end. Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters* was edited by the Rev. Walter Kelly Firminger and published under the auspices of the Calcutta Historical Society by Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta, in 1908. Rev. Firminger's edition "is an

indifferent piece of work. There are numerous slips and—what is worse—the text has been tinkered and repunctuated unpardonably. Believing Mrs. Fay's English style to be inferior to his own, the Archdeacon has made on an average one alteration in every line she wrote—alterations which always lead us away from her spirit, and occasionally from her meaning" (Forster). Another edition was published in 1925 by Leonard & Virginia Woolf, London, with an introductory and terminal notes by E.M. Forster restoring the 1817—original text. This edition called for a re-issue in the same year, if I am not mistaken. The National Library, Calcutta, has copies of all editions, except that of 1821, of which two copies are available in the British Museum and one copy at the Jayakrishna Public Library, Uttarpara, Hooghly district, West Bengal.

We are retaining the original language of Mrs. Fay as found in the 1821 edition in reproducing some extracts here, though the pagination is that of Firminger's edition. This introductory note is based entirely on Forster's Introduction as well as that of Firminger to their respective editions of Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters* and her text. (*The subheadings found in the following pages are given by us and not by Mrs. Fay.*)

* * *

MRS. ELIZA FAY IN CALCUTTA

Letter XV.—Calcutta, 22nd May, 1780...../131/... Calcutta, you know is on the Hoogly, a branch of the Ganges, and as you enter Garden-reach, which extends about nine miles below the town, the most interesting views that can possibly be imagined greet the eye. The banks of the river are as one may say absolutely studded with elegant mansions, called here as at Madras, garden-houses. These houses are surrounded by groves and lawns, which descend to the waters-edge, and present a constant succession of whatever can delight the eye, or bespeak wealth and elegance in the owners. The noble appearance of the river also, which is much wider than the Thames at London bridge, together with the amazing variety of vessels continually passing on its surface, add to the beauty of the scene. Some /132/ of these are so whimsically constructed as to charm by their novelty. I was much pleased with the snake boat in particular. Budgerows, somewhat resembling our city barges,

are very common,—many of these are spacious enough to accommodate a large family. Besides these the different kinds of pleasure boats intermixed with mercantile vessels, and ships of war, render the whole a magnificent and beautiful moving picture ; at once exhilarating the heart, and charming the senses : for every object of sight is viewed through a medium that heightens its attraction in this brilliant climate.

The town of Calcutta reaches along the eastern bank of the Hoogly ; as you come up past Fort William and the Esplanade it has a beautiful appearance. Esplanade-row, as it is called, which fronts the Fort, seems to be composed of palaces ; the whole range, except what is taken up by the Government and Council houses, is occupied by the principal gentlemen in the settlement—no person being allowed to reside in Fort William, but such as are attached to the army, gives it greatly the advantage over Fort St. George, which is so incumbered with buildings of one kind or other, that it has more the look of a town than of a military Garrison. *Our* Fort is also so well kept and everything in such excellent order, that it is quite a curiosity to see it—all the slopes, banks, and ramparts, are covered with the richest verdure, which completes the enchantment of the scene. Indeed the general aspect of the country is astonishing ; notwithstanding the extreme heat (the thermometer seldom standing below ninety in the afternoon) I never saw a more vivid green than adorns the surrounding fields—not that parched miserable look our lands have during the summer heats ;—large fissures opening in the earth, as if all vegetation were suspended ; in fact the copious dews which fall at night, restore moisture to the ground, and cause a short thick grass to spring up, which makes the finest food /133/ imaginable for the cattle. Bengal mutton, always good, is at this period excellent—I must not forget to tell you that there is a very good race ground at a short distance from Calcutta, which is a place of fashionable resort, for morning and evening airings.

.. /134/ .. 29th May (1780). I have delivered my letter of introduction to Mrs. H—on whom I should have waited long ago, had the state of my health admitted of the exertion. She resides at Belvidere-house about, I believe, five miles from Calcutta, which is a great distance at this season and for an invalid. . /135/ .. You will expect me to say something of the house, which is a perfect *bijou* ; most superbly fitted up with

all that unbounded affluence can display ; but still deficient in that simple elegance which the wealthy so seldom attain, from the circumstance of not being obliged to search for effect without much cost, which those but moderately rich, find to be indispensable. The grounds are said to be very tastefully laid out, but how far this report is accurate I had no opportunity of judging ; the windows being all as it were hermetically closed ; sashes blinds, and every opening, except where tatties were placed to exclude the hot wind. This surprized me very much : but I understand no method is so effectual for that purpose. I was not permitted to take my departure till the evening, when the fair lady of the mansion, dismissed me with many general professions of kindness, of which I knew how to estimate the value.

Next morning we received an invitation to the ball annually given on the King's birthday. This however I was under the necessity of declining on the plea of ill health, and Mr. F— could hardly ever be persuaded to attend such formal assemblies.

SERVANTS—A SET OF THIEVES

Letter XVI—Calcutta, 29th August (1780).... /138/..
I am happy to say that our house is a very comfortable one, but we are surrounded by a set of thieves. In England, if servants are dishonest we punish them, or turn them away in disgrace, and their fate proves, it may be hoped, a warning to others ; but these wretches have no sense of shame. I will give you an instance or two of their conduct, that you may perceive how enviably I am situated. My Khansaman (or house-steward) brought in a charge of a gallon of milk and thirteen eggs, for making scarcely a pint and half of custard ; this was so barefaced a cheat, that I refused to allow it, on which he gave me warning. I sent for another, and, after I had hired him, “now said I; take notice friend, I have enquired into the market price of every article that enters my house and will submit to no imposition ; you must therefore agree to deliver in a just account to me every morning”—what reply do you think he made ? why he demanded double wages ; you may be sure I dismissed him, and have since forgiven the first but not till he had *salaamed* to my foot, that is placed his right hand under my foot,—this is the most abject token of sub-

mission (alas ! how much better should I like a little common honesty.) I know him to be a rogue, and so are they all, but as he understands me now, he will perhaps be induced to use rather more moderation in his attempts to defraud—At first he used to charge me with twelve ounces of butter a day, for each person ; now he grants that the consumption is only four ounces. As if these people were aware that I am writing about them, they have very obligingly furnished me with another anecdote. It seems my *comprodore* (or market man) is gone away ; he says poor servants have no profit by staying with *me* ; at other gentlemen's houses he always made a rupee a day at least ! besides his wages ; but here if he only charges an anna or two more, it is sure to be taken off—So you see what a terrible creature I am. I dare say you never gave me credit for being so close—I find that I was imposed on, in taking a *comprodore* at all ; the *Khansaman* ought to do that business. Judge whether I have not sufficient employment among there* harpies ? feeling as I do the necessity of a reasonable economy. It is astonishing, and /140/ would be amusing if one did not suffer by it, to see the various arts they will practice to keep a few annas in their hands,—for though the lawful interest of money is but twelve per Cent (enough you will say), yet twenty four is given by the shopkeepers, who will lend or borrow the smallest sums for a single day, and ascertain the precise interest to the greatest exactitude, having the advantage of cowrees, 5120 of which go to make one rupee. The foolish custom which subsists here of keeping Banians, gives rise to a thousand deceptions, as no one pays or receives money but through the medium of these people who have their profit on everything that comes into the house.

HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES

In order to give you an idea of my household expenses and the price of living here, I must inform you that, our house costs only 200 rupees per month, because it is not in a part of the town much esteemed ; otherwise we must pay 3 or 400 rupees ; we are now seeking for a better situation. We were

* A misprint for 'these'.

frequently told in England you know, that the heat in Bengal destroyed the appetite, I must own that I never yet saw any proof of that ; on the contrary I cannot help thinking that I never saw an equal quantity of victuals consumed. We dine too at two o'clock, in the very heat of the day. At this moment Mr. F—is looking out with an hawk's eye, for his dinner ; and though still much of an invalid, I have no doubt of being able to pick a bit myself. I will give you our bill of fare, and the general prices of things. A soup, a roast fowl, curry and rice, a mutton pie; a fore quarter of lamb, a rice pudding, tarts, very good cheese, fresh churned butter, fine bread, excellent Madeira (that is expensive but eatables are very cheap,)—a whole sheep costs but two rupees : a lamb one rupee, six good fowls or ducks ditto—twelve pigeons ditto—twelve pounds of bread ditto—two pounds butter ditto ; and a joint of veal ditto—good cheese two months ago sold at the enormous price of three or four rupees per pound, but now you may buy it for one and a half—English claret sells at this time for sixty rupees a dozen. There's a price for you ! I need not say that much of it will not be seen at your table ; now and then we are forced to produce it but seldom. I assure you much caution is requisite to avoid running deeply in debt—the facility of obtaining credit is beyond what I could have imagined ; the Europe shop keepers are always ready to send in goods ; and the Banians are so anxious to get into employment, that they out bid each other. One says “master better take me, I will advance five thousand rupees”—another offers seven, and perhaps a third ten thousand : a Company's servant particularly will always find numbers ready to support his extravagance. It is not uncommon to see *writers* within a few months after their arrivals dashing away on the course *four in hand* ; allowing for the inconsiderateness of youth, is it surprising if many become deeply embarrassed ?—Several have been pointed out to me, who in the course of two or three years, have involved themselves almost beyond hope of redemption. The interest of money here being twelve per Cent, and the Banian taking care to secure bonds for whatever he advances, making up the account yearly and adding the sum due for interest, his thoughtless *master*, (as he calls him, but in fact his slave) soon finds his debt doubled, and dares not complain unless he has the means of release which alas ! are denied him.

I should have told you before that Mr. F.—was admitted as an advocate in the Supreme Court. . .

Letter XVII—Calcutta, 27th September, (1780). /144/
The bad news I hinted at some time ago is already avenged ; and a much more serious affair has happened since, but for the present I must relate what has occupied a great deal of attention for some days past : no less than a duel between the Governor General and the first in Council, Mr. Francis ; there were two shots fired, and the Governor's second fire took place ; he immediately ran up to his antagonist and expressed his sorrow for what had happened, which I dare say was sincere, for he is said to be a very amiable man. Happily the ball was soon extricated ; and if he escape fever, there is no doubt of his speedy recovery. What gave occasion to the quarrel is said to have been an offensive Minute entered on the Council books by Mr. Francis, which he refused to rescind ; but being unacquainted with the particulars, I have as little right as inclination to make any comments on the subject—It always vexes me to hear of such things. What a shocking custom is that of duelling ! yet there are times when men may be so situated that, as the world goes, one knows not how they could act otherwise ; much may be effected by the judicious interference of friends, but those qualified for the task are rarely to be met with. Mr. Francis is highly respected here, and being now at the head of what is called the opposition party, his death would be severely felt by many who affect great indifference about the event.

Since I wrote last we have had a good deal of trouble with our Mohametan servants, on account of an old custom ; not one of them would touch a plate on which pork had been /145/ laid—so that whenever we had any at our table, our plates remained, till the cook or his mate came up to change them. This being represented as a religious prejudice, I felt it right to give way, however ridiculous it might appear, in fact it was an inconvenience we felt in common with the whole settlement, except the gentlemen of the Army who had long emancipated themselves from any such restraint ; finding this to be really the case the whole of the European inhabitants agreed to insist upon their servants doing the same as those of the officers at the Fort, or quitting their places. They chose the latter alternative, and as their prejudices run very high in all religious matters, we

were in doubt whether they would not prefer suffering the greatest extremity rather, than touch the very vessels which contained this abhorred food,—but behold in about four days they came back again requesting to be reinstated; acknowledging that the only penalty incurred by touching the plates was the necessity of bathing afterwards: from this you may judge of their excessive idleness; however all now goes on well and we hear no more of their objection—

DINNER HOUR

.../147/...The dinner hour as I mentioned before is two, and it is customary to sit a long while at table; particularly during the cold season; for people here are mighty fond of grills and stews, which they season themselves, and generally make very hot. The Burdwan stew takes a deal of time; it is composed /148/ of everything at the table, fish, flesh and fowl;—somewhat like the Spanish Olla Podrida,—Many suppose that unless prepared in a silver saucepan it cannot be good; on this point I must not presume to give an opinion, being satisfied with plain food; and never tasting any of these incentives to luxurious indulgence. During dinner a good deal of wine is drank, but very little after the cloth is removed; except in Bachelors parties, as they are called; for the custom of reposing, if not sleeping after dinner is so general that the streets of Calcutta are from four to five in the afternoon almost as empty of Europeans as if it were midnight—Next come the evening airings to the Course w(h)ere every one goes, though sure of being half suffocated with dust. On returing from thence, tea is served, and universally drank here, even during the extreme heats. After tea, either cards or music fill up the space, 'till ten, when supper is generally announced. Five card loo is the usual game and they play a rupee a fish limited to ten. This will strike you as being enormously high but it is thought nothing of here. The dille and Whist are much in fashion but ladies seldom join in the latter; for though the stakes are moderate, bets frequently run high among the gentlemen which renders those anxious who sit down for amusement, lest others should lose by their blunders.

Formal visits are paid in the evening; they are generally very short, as perhaps each lady has a dozen to make and a

party waiting for her at home besides. Gentlemen also call to offer their respects and if asked to put down their hat, it is considered as an invitation to supper. Many a hat have I seen vainly dangling in its owner's hand for half an hour, who at last has been compelled to withdraw without any one's offering to relieve him from the burthen.

Great preparations are making for Christmas, and New year's public balls ;—of course you will not expect me to write much till they are over ; nor, to own the truth am I in spirits, having great reason to be dissatisfied with Mr. F—s conduct...

BURRA DIN

Letter XVIII. Calcutta, 27th Jan. 1881.* /150/ Since my last we have been engaged in a perpetual round of gaiety—keeping Christmas, as it is called, though sinking into disuse at home, prevails here with all its ancient festivity. The external appearance of the English gentlemen's houses on Chirstmas-day, is really pleasing from its novelty. Large plantain trees are placed on each side of the principal entrances, and the gates and pillars being ornamented with wreaths of flowers fancifully disposed, enliven the scene.

All the servants bring presents of fish and fruits from the Banian down to the lowest menial ; for these, it is true, we are obliged in many instances to make a return, perhaps beyond the real value, but still it is considered as a compliment to our *burrah din* (great day). A public dinner is given at the Government house to the gentlemen of the Presidency, and the evening concludes with an elegant Ball & Supper for the Ladies. These are repeated on New year's day and again on the King's birth day. I should say have been, for that grand festival happening at the hottest season, and every one being obliged to appear full dressed, so much inconvenience resulted from the immense croud, even in some cases severe fits of illness being the consequence, that it has been determined to change the day of celebration to the 8th of December which arrangement gives general satisfaction—I shall not attempt to describe these splendid entertainments farther than by saying

* A misprint for '1781'.

that they were in the highest style of magnificence ; in fact such grand parties so much resemble each other, that a particular detail would be unnecessary and even tiresome.

/151/ I felt far more gratified some time ago, when Mrs. Jackson procured me a ticket for the Harmonic which was supported by a select number of gentlemen who each in alphabetical rotation gave a concert, ball, and supper, during the cold season ; I believe once a fortnight—that I attended was given by a Mr. Taylor, which closed the subscription and I understand it will not be renewed, a circumstance generally regretted as it was an elegant amusement and conducted on a very eligible plan. We had a great deal of delightful music, and Lady C—who is a capital performer on the harpsichord played amongst other pieces a Sonata of Nicolai's in a most brilliant style. A gentleman who was present and who seemed to be quite charmed with her execution, asked me the next evening, if I did not think that jig Lady C—played the night before, was the prettiest thing I ever heard ? He meant the rondo which is remarkably lively ; but I dare say "Over the water to Charley" would have pleased him equally well.

.. /152/ 26th March, (1781). A Frigate being ordered to sail for Europe with despatches from Government, I shall avail myself of the occasion, and /153/ close this letter with a few remarks on our theatrical amusements.

The house was built by subscription ; it is very neatly fitted up, and the scenery and decorations quite equal to what could be expected here. The parts are entirely represented by amateurs in the drama—no hired performers being allowed to act. I assure you I have seen characters supported in a manner that would not disgrace any European stage. *Venice Preserved* was exhibited some time ago, when Captain Call (of the Army) Mr. Droz (a member of the Board of Trade) and Lieutenant Norfar, in Jaffier, Pierre, and Belvidera shewed superior theatrical talents. The latter has rather an effeminate appearance off the stage, yet I am told he is a very brave Officer when on service ; and though always dressed as if for a ball, when he makes his appearance, is among the most alert in a moment of danger. I cannot imagine how he contrives it, for the present mode of arranging the hair requires a great deal of time to make it look tolerable ; however, this is said to be the case.—One of the inconveniences in establishments of this

kind, is that the performers being independent of any controul, will some times persist in taking parts to which their abilities are by no means adequate ;—this throws an air of ridicule over the whole, as the spectators are too apt to indulge their mirth on the least opening of that kind : in fact many go to see a tragedy for the express purpose of enjoying a laugh, which is certainly very illiberal and must prove detrimental to the hopes of an infant institution like the one in question :—for my own part I think such a mode of passing an evening highly rational ; and were I not debarred by the expence, should seldom miss a representation—but a gold mohur is really too much to bestow on such a temporary gratification.....

Letter XX—5th September, 1781.

EAST INDIAN CUSTOMS & CEREMONIES

.../160/...I have never mentioned yet how indifferently we are provided with respect to a place of worship ; divine service being performed, in a room, (not a very large one) at the Old Fort ; which is a great disgrace to the settlement. They talk of building a Church and have fixed on a very eligible spot whereon to erect it but no further progress has been made in the business.

I now propose, having full leisure to give you some account of the East Indian customs and ceremonies, such as I have been able to collect, but it must be considered as a mere sketch, to point your further researches. And first for that horrible custom of widows burning themselves with the dead bodies of their husbands ; the fact is indubitable, but I have never had an opportunity of witnessing the various incidental ceremonies, nor have I ever seen any European who had been present at them. I cannot suppose that the usage originated in the superior tenderness, and ardent attachment of Indian wives towards their spouses, since the same tenderness and ardour would doubtless extend to his offspring and prevent them from exposing the innocent survivors to the miseries attendant on an orphan state, and they would see clearly that to live and cherish these pledges of affection would be the most

rationl and natural way of shewing their regard for both husband and children. I apprehend that as personal fondness can have no part here at all, since all matches are made between the parents of the parties who are betrothed to each at too early a period for choice to be consulted, this practice is entirely a political scheme intended to ensure the care and good offices of wives to their husbands, who have not failed in most countries to /161/ invent a sufficient number of rules to render the weaker sex totally subservient to their authority. I cannot avoid smiling when I hear gentlemen bring forward the conduct of Hindoo women, as a test of superior character, since I am well aware that so much are we the slaves of habit *every where* that were it necessary for a woman's reputation to burn herself in England, many a one who has *accepted* a husband merely for the sake of an establishment, who has lived with him without affection ; perhaps thwarted his views, dissipated his fortune and rendered his life uncomfortable to its close, would yet mount the funeral pile with all imaginable decency and die with heroic fortitude. The most specious sacrifices are not always the greatest, she who wages war with a naturally petulant temper, who practises a rigid self-denial, endures without complaining the unkindness, infidelity, extravagance, meanness or scorn, of the man whom she has given a tender and confiding heart, and for whose happiness and well being in life all the powers of her mind are engaged ; —is ten times more of a heroine than the slave of bigotry and superstition, who affects to scorn the life demanded of her by the laws of her country or at least that country's custom ; and many such we have in England, and I doubt not in India likewise : so indeed we ought, have we not a religion infinitely more pure than that of India ? The Hindoos, or gentoos are divided into four castes or tribes called the Brahmin, the Khutree, the Buesho, and the Shodor : their rank in the land, declines gradually to the last named, and if any one of them commit an offence which deprives them of the privileges that belong to their respective castes, they become Parias, which may therefore be called a filthy tribe formed as it were of the refuse of the rest. Those are indeed considered the very dregs of the people, and supply all the lowest offices of human life. They all profess what is called the religion of Brahma, from the caste which /162/ bears his name all the priests are chosen, who are treated in every respect with the

distinguished honour and reverence. Their religious Code is contained in a book called the Veda, which only the Brahmins are allowed to read ; it is written in a dead language called the Sanscrit. They worship three Deities, Brahma, the creator, Vistnoo the preserver, and Sheevah the destroyer. But they profess to believe them only the representations or types of the great spirit Brahma (the Supreme God) whom they also call the spirit of wisdom, and the principle of Truth : none but Hindoos are allowed to enter temples, but I am told the Idols worshipped there are of the very ugliest forms that imagination can conceive ; and to whom Pope's description of the heathen deities may, in other respects, be strictly applied.

"Gods changeful, partial, passionate unjust.

Whose attributes *are* rage, revenge, or lust.

I lament to add that to such wretched objects as these, numbers of the deluded natives are devoted in the strongest and most absolute manner possible. A certain sect named Pundarams live in continual beggary ; extreme hunger alone induces them to ask for food, which when granted, they only take just that will preserve life, and spend all their days in singing songs in praise of Sheevah ; another sect add a tabor, and hollow brass rings about their ancles to increase the noise with which they extol *their* deity. I consider both these as a species of monks but believe the holy fathers fall far short of the Jogees and Seniases of India, in their religious austerities. These not only endure all possible privations with apparent indifference, but invent for themselves various kinds of tortures which they carry to an astonishing length ; such as keeping their hands clenched 'till the nails grow into them—standing on one foot for days and even weeks together—and hiring people to support their hands in a perpendicular position.

/163/ Their expiatory punishments are some of them dreadful. I myself saw a man running in the streets with a piece of iron thrust through his tongue which was bleeding profusely. On the Churruk Poojah (swinging feast) hundreds I have heard, are suspended at an amazing height by means of hooks firmly fixed in the flesh of the back, to which sometimes a cloth is added round the body to afford the miserable victim a chance of escape, should the hook give way. I, by accident, (for voluntarily nothing should have tempted me to witness

such a spectacle) saw one of these wretches, who was whirling round with surprizing rapidity, and at that distance scarcely appeared to retain the semblance of a human form. They firmly expect by this infliction to obtain pardon of all their offences, and should death be the consequence, they go straight to heaven—thus changing the horrid state of privation and misery in which they exist here, for one of bliss : if such be their real persuasion, who can condemn the result.

Indeed under other circumstances it is found that, notwithstanding their apparent gentleness and timidity, the Hindoos will meet death with intrepid firmness—they are also invincibly obstinate, and will *die* rather than concede a point ; of this a very painful instance has lately occurred.—A Hindoo beggar of the Brahmin caste went to the house of a very rich man, but of an inferior tribe, requesting alms ; he was either rejected, or considered himself inadequately relieved, and refused to quit the place. As his lying before the door and thus obstructing the passage was unpleasant, one of the servants first intreated, then insisted on his retiring, and in speaking pushed him gently away ; he chose to call this push a blow, and cried aloud for redress, declaring that he would never stir from the spot 'till he had obtained justice against the man : who now endeavoured to sooth him but in vain ;—like a true Hindoo he sat down, and never moved again, but thirty-eight hours afterwards expired, demanding justice with his latest breath ; being well /164/ aware that in the event of this, the master would have an enormous fine to pay, which accordingly happened. I am assured that such evidences of the surprizing indifference to life, the inflexible stubbornness, and vindictive dispositions of these people are by no means rare ; it seems extraordinary though, that sentiments and feelings apparently so contrary to each other should operate on the same minds ; seeing them so quiet and supine, so (if it may be so expressed) only half alive, as they generally shew themselves, one is prepared for their sinking, without an effort to avert any impending danger ; but that they should at the same time nourish so violent and active a passion as revenge, and brave even death so intrepidly as they often do in pursuit of it, is very singular :—but enough of these silly enthusiasts.

I had lately the opportunity of witnessing the marriage procession of a rich Hindoo. The bride (as I was told) sat in

the same palanquin with the bridegroom, which was splendidly ornamented ;—they were accompanied by all the relations on both sides, dressed in the most superb manner ;—some on horse back some in palanquins, and several on elephants ;—bands of dancing girls and musicians I understood preceded them ;—and in the evening there were fire-works at the bride's fathers house and the appearance of much feasting &c. but no Europeans were present. This wedding was of a nature by no means uncommon here ; a rich man had an only daughter, and he bargained to dispose of her, or rather to take for her a husband out of a poor man's family, but of his own *caste* ; for this is indispensable. In this case the bridegroom is brought home to his father-in-law's house and becomes a member of the family ; so that although the law prohibits a man from giving a dowry with his daughter, yet you see he does it in effect, since he gives a house to a man who wants one ; in fact gives a fortune, but saddled with an encumbrance ;—Perhaps in a few years the old man may die, and the young one having fulfilled the wishes of his parents, and provided for his own wants, may employ some of his female relations /165/ to look round among the poorer families of his caste for a pretty girl, whom he will take as a second wife, tho' the first always retains the pre-eminence, and governs the house ; nor can the husband devote more of his time to one than the other,—the law compelling him to live with them alternately, you may be sure the account is strictly kept. My Banian Dattaram Chuckerbutty has been married between twenty and thirty years, without taking a second lady, and he boasts of being much happier with his old wife (as he calls her) than the generality of his friends are amidst the charms of variety. For my own part, I have not a doubt but he is in the right.

The Hindoo ladies are never seen abroad ; when they go out their carriages are closely covered with curtains, so that one has little chance of satisfying curiosity. I once saw two apparently very beautiful women ; they use so much art however, as renders it difficult to judge what claim they *really* have to that appellation—Their whole time is taken up in decorating their persons :—the hair, eye-lids—eye-brows—teeth,—hands and nails, all undergo certain processes to render them more completely fascinating ; nor can one seriously blame their having recourse to these, or the like artifices—the

motive being to secure the affections of a husband, or to counteract the plans of a rival.

27th September, (1781). The Hindoos who can afford to purchase wood for a funeral pile, burn their dead; one cannot go on the river without seeing numbers of these exhibitions, especially at night, and most disgusting spectacles they are. I will not enlarge on the subject. This mode however is far superior to that of throwing them into the river, as practised by the poor; where they offend more senses than one. I have been frequently obliged to return precipitately from a walk along the river side, by the noisome exhalations which arose from these wretched objects.

/166/ Some of the Hindoo customs respecting the sick are really shocking.—when a person is given over by the Brahmins, (who are physicians as well as priests) the relations immediately carry him, if within a reasonable distance, to the banks of the Ganges, where he is smeared with the mud, quantities of which I am told are thrust into his mouth*, nose, and ears. This treatment soon reduces him to a dying state; nor is it desirable that he should recover, since he must in that case lose caste; for it is an established rule, that whoever removes from the spot where the sacred rites have been performed, becomes an outcaste. Dr. J—was once fortunate enough to be called in to attend the wife of a Hindu Rajah whom they were on the point of taking to the river when he arrived—he assured the Rajah that he perceived no dangerous symptoms and would answer for her doing well—Luckily the tremendous ceremonies had not commenced; The event justified our good Doctor's predictions—the lady is still living and his success in this instance, has led to several others, highly gratifying to the best feelings of humanity and certainly beneficial to his fortune.

(Mrs. Fay left Calcutta on Tuesday, the 9th April, 1782, with Sir Robert and Lady Chambers).

* A misprint for 'mouth'.

WILLIAM HODGES

William Hodges (1744-1797), Painter and Royal Academician, born in London in 1744, was only child of a smith, who kept a small shop in St. James Market. He was employed as errand-boy in Shipley's drawing school, where he managed to learn drawing. Richard Wilson, R.A., noticed him, and took him to be his assistant and pupil. Hodges made rapid progress. On leaving Wilson he resided in London, and also for a time at Derby, where he painted some scenes for the theatre. In 1778 he went to India under the patronage of Warren Hastings, remained there about six years, and painted a number of views of the most remarkable objects and scenery. On his return to England in 1784 he brought a number of these with him, which were engraved, some on a large scale, by J. Browne and Morris; a set was executed in aquatint by himself and published in 1786, and smaller copies appear in 'European Magazine' and elsewhere. Humboldt, in his 'cosmos', says that the sight of Hodges's Indian views was one of the inducements which led him to travel. In 1793 Hodges published an account of his *Travels in India during the years 1780, 1781, 1782 & 1783* (London, Printed for the author and sold by J. Edwards, Pall-Mall) with plates from his drawings; the book was afterwards translated into French. In 1784 Hodges settled in Queen Street, Mayfair, where he built himself a studio. In 1786 he was elected an associate of the Royal Academy, an academician in 1789; he continued to exhibit at the Royal Academy up to 1794. About 1790 he travelled on the continent, and visited St. Petersburg, of which he painted a view. He retired from the profession in 1790 and in 1795 settled at Dartmouth; and opened a bank. The troubles, however, which affected the financial world at the time proved the ruin of his firm. Hodges died shortly afterwards at Brixham, Devonshire, of gout in the stomach, on 6 March 1797, aged 53. Hodges's portrait was engraved by W. Daniell. Hodges married, on 11 May 1776 at St. George's, Hanover Square, Miss Martha Nesbit; and settled in Pimlico, but lost his wife in child-bed within a

year. On 16 October 1784 he married a second time Miss Lydia Wright, who soon died. Shortly afterwards he married, for a third time, Miss Carr, a lady much beloved and praised by Romney and other friends. She survived him a few months, and died at Turnbridge in May of the same year. By her he had five children, whom he left in great want. (*Dictionary of National Biography*, IX, pp. 955-956)

* * *

A TEMPLE DEDICATED TO HOSPITALITY

/13/ After residing a year at Madras, as no prospect presented itself of seeing and making drawings in the interior part of the country, I determined to pursue my voyage to Bengal : and as I found my health on the decline, I entertained thoughts of returning to Europe by the following season. I embarked in February, 1781, and arrived in the Ganges in March. A change of air and a sea voyage frequently produces a happy alteration in the constitutions of valetudinarians in India ; and I accordingly found that on my arrival in Bengal my health was perfectly re-established.

The appearance of the country on the entrance of the Ganges, or Houghly River (this being only a branch of the /14/ Great Ganges) is rather unpromising ; a few bushes at the water's edge, forming a dark line, just marking the distinction between sky and water, are the only objects to be seen. As the ship approaches Calcutta the river narrows ; that which is called the Garden Reach, presents a view of handsome buildings, on a flat surrounded by gardens : these are villas belonging to the opulent inhabitants of Calcutta. The vessel has no sooner gained one other reach of the river than the whole city of Calcutta bursts upon the eye. This capital of the British dominions in the East is marked by a considerable fortress, on the south side of the river, which is allowed to be, in strength and correctness of design, superior to any in India. On the foreground of the picture is the water-gate of the fort, which reflects great honour on the talents of the engineer—the ingenious Colonel Polier. The glacis and esplanade are seen in perspective, bounded by a range of beautiful and regular buildings ; and a considerable reach of the river, with vessels of various

classes and sizes, from the largest Indiamen to the smallest boat of the country, closes the scene. A plate, representing this view, from a picture taken on the spot, and admirably engraved by Mr. Byrne, an artist whose reputation is not to be raised by any eulogium in this place, is annexed.

A European lands here in the midst of a great city, without passing the outer draw-bridges of a fort : here are no centinels with the keen eye of suspicion, no stoppage of /15/ baggage. The hospitality which a stranger experiences from the inhabitants, and particularly from those to whom he is recommended, corresponds exactly with the freedom of his admission into the city ; and the kindness which I experienced on this occasion from my much lamented friend Henry Davies Esq. late Advocate General of Bengal, can never be forgotten.

The city of Calcutta extends from the Western point of Fort William, along the banks of the river, almost to the village of Cossipoor : that is about four and a half English miles. The breadth in many parts is inconsiderable. The streets are broad ; the line of buildings, surrounding two sides of the esplanade of the fort, is magnificent ; and it adds greatly to the superb appearance, that the houses are detached from each other, and insulated in a great space. The buildings are all, on a large scale, from the necessity of having a free circulation of air, in a climate the heat of which is extreme. The general approach to the houses is by a flight of steps, with great projecting porticoes, or surrounded by colonades or arcades, which give them the appearance of Grecian temples ; and indeed every house may be considered as a temple dedicated to hospitality.

Calcutta, from a small and inconsiderable fort, which yet remains (and in which is the famous black-hole, so fatal to many of our countrymen in 1756), and a few ware-/16/-houses, was soon raised to a great and opulent city, when the government of the kingdom of Bengal fell into the hands of the English. For its magnificence, however, it is indebted solely to the liberal spirit and excellent taste of the late Governor General ; and it must be confessed, that the first house was raised by Mr. Hastings which deserves the name of a piece of architecture : in fact, it is even in a purer style than any that has been built since, although it is on a smaller scale than many others.

The mixture of European and Asiatic manners, which may be observed in Calcutta, is curious :—coaches, phaetons, single horse chaises, with the pallankeens and hackeries of the natives—the passing ceremonies of the Hindoos—the different appearances of the fakirs—form a sight perhaps more novel and extraordinary than any city in the world can present to a stranger. Some views in the city of Calcutta, published by Mr. Daniel, are highly to be commended for their accuracy.

A few weeks after my arrival in Bengal, an opportunity offered itself, which I immediately embraced, to make drawings of part of the country, as high as Mongheir, on the Ganges, a distance of three hundred English miles ; and I proceeded on this journey in the middle of the month of April following, by dauk bearers (in a pallankeen) or pallankeen carriers. These are persons hired by government, /17/ and fixed at the several stages or posts for facilitating travelling ; each stage, on an average, may be ten English miles. The number of persons are usually nine, with two additional men or boys, to carry baggage and lights in the night, called mossaljees, from the name of the lights, mossol.

L. De GRANDPRE

L. De Grandpre's *VOYAGE Dans L'Inde Et Au BENGAL** (two volumes) was published in Paris in the year 1801. An English translation by an anonymous hand under the title, *A VOYAGE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AND TO BENGAL*** appeared in London after two years. The format of the original as well as the translation is the same. The work is illustrated with seven engravings of which two relate to Calcutta, i.e., (1) a 'View of Fort William, the Citadel of Calcutta' (facing page 251, vol. 1) and (2) a view of the 'Monument at Calcutta, called the Black-hole' (facing page 4, vol. II), delineating (a) the monument, (b) the old Fort, (c) buildings for the civil officers of the Company (Writers' Buildings), (d) inclosed pond in the middle of the town ('Lal Dighi'), and (e) a Palanquin. Rest of the illustrations in volume II relate to the Persian Gulf region. The engravings in the original are bigger than those found in the English version.

*French Title

VOYAGE

Dans

L'Inde Et Au BENGAL,

Fait dans les annees 1789
et 1790 ;Contenant la description
des ilesSechelles et de
Trinquemalay, des
details sur le caractereet les
arts industriels despeuples de
l'Inde, la description
de quelques

**English Title

A

VOYAGE

in the

INDIAN OCEAN AND
TO BENGALUndertaken in the years 1789
and 1790 ; ContainingAn Account of the Sechelles
Islands

and Trincomale ; The

Character and
Arts of the people of India ;
With some RemarkableReligious rites
of the inhabitants of Bengal.

Pratiques religieuses
des habitans
du Bengal.
Suivi d'un Voyage fait dans
la merr
Rouge, contenant la
description
de Moka, et due
commerce des
Arabs de l'Yemen;
des details
sur leur caractere
et leurs
moeurs, etc. etc.

Par L. DEGRANDPRE,
Officer
de la Marine francaise.

Orne De Belles Gravures, et
du plan de la Citadelle de
Calcutta.

Tome Premier & Tome Second.

PARIS, DENTU,
Imprimeur-Libraire,
Palais du Tribunat,
galeries de bois n.o. 240.

An IX—1801.

To which is added
A Voyage in the Red Sea :
including
A description of Mocha, And
of the
Trade of the Arabs of
Yemen ; with
some particulars of their
manners,
customs, &ca.

In two volumes.

Translated from the French of
L. De GRANDPRE,
An officer in the French Army.
With engravings, and a view of
the citadel of Calcutta.

LONDON :

Printed for G. and J. Robinson,
Patternoster-Row ;

By S. Hamilton, Falcon-court,
Fleet-street

Vol. I & II. 1803.

The title of the book is no indication of its contents for Grandpre has not only noted down his observations about people and places during his voyages in 1789 and 1790, but has also incorporated political and social intelligence till the time of going to the press. This is evident from his mention of the death of Tippu Sultan (II: 38). Though English authors of his period were fond of eccentric use of capital letters, Grandpre has been rather chary in their use, even for proper nouns. The English translator has not taken the onus upon himself and has maintained Grandpre's style. We have

not tampered with the text of the translator by indicating capital letters where they ought to find their place.

Louis Marie Joseph O'Hier Comte de Grandpre (or O'Hier de Grandpre, L de) (1761-1846) is described as an officer in the French Army. Grandpre was in Calcutta for three months towards the end of 1793 and beginning of 1794 (*Voyage II* : 99). He left Bengal in 1794 (*Voyage II* : 51). Grandpre's stay in Calcutta was in connection with a plan formed by the Court of Directors of the East India Company for the invasion of Mauritius and Bourbon.

The war with France broke out on February 1, 1793 and on October 23, 1793 the Court of Directors of the East India Company instructed their Governor-General in Bengal to get ready by April 1794 a force consisting of 5,000 rank and file of European infantry, 300 artillery, 1000 lascars and two battalions of sepoys. Sir William Medows and Col. Stuart were appointed to lead the expedition, but the appointment of Medows was later cancelled. The Court, on 21st March 1794, advised Bengal Government to postpone the expedition¹.

Preparations in India for undertaking the expedition at a more convenient opportunity continued. The British Government sent L. De Grandpre to assist the authorities in India.

Secret letter from the Court of Directors to Bengal dated 14 October 1793.

1. His Majesty's Ministers having thought proper to avail themselves of the services of Mr. De Grand Pre, a French Officer of talents and much local information, on the intended expedition against the French islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, we have, at the recommendation of the Right Honorable the Commissioner for the Affairs of India, provided him with a passage to India at the Company's expence on board the ship *Pitt*; and we direct, at the further recommendation of that Right Honorable Board, that from the time of his arrival in India to that of his proceeding in the expedition, you make him an allowance of two hundred rupees per month; that if the expedition shall not be undertaken, Mr. Grand Pre is to be allowed a free passage from India to England, and on his arrival here, he is to receive a gratuity of one hundred pounds. But you are to observe that, should he proceed on the expedition, the remuneration for his services is to depend on their extent,

and is to be determined in this country, agreeably to the report that may be received of the nature of those services.

2. We transmit you, enclosed, a copy of a paper prepared by Mr. Grand Pre upon the mode of attack of the French islands.

East India House

We are

Your affectionate friends

London, the 24th May, 1794

W. Devaynes /J. Hunter/
John Manship.

N.B. Mr. Grand Pre will furnish the above mentioned paper on his arrival in Bengal.

(Duplicate received on 8 December, 1794 per Thetis²)

Grand Pre reached Calcutta in the *Pitt* towards the end of 1794 and the Governor General and Council in their Secret letter³ (para 19) dated December 30, 1794 wrote to the Court of Directors :

"It may be proper to point out to your notice the observation of the Governor General Relative to Monsieur De Grand Pre, who arrived in the *Pitt*, that the object of his mission to the country is publickly known, and that the exposure of it may be traced to the unguarded levity and imprudence of his own declarations at the cape of Good Hope and during the voyage to India".

Sir John Shore, the Governor-General, did not consider it wise to undertake the expedition "unless it could be undertaken with a force greatly inferior to the original requisition". Grandpre delivered to the Governor General a memorial relative to the attack of the French Islands, a copy of which was transmitted by him to Lord Hobart for transmission to Col. Stuart. Col. Stuart in his answer signified that "nothing in the paper furnished by Monsieur De Grand Pre caused any alteration in his opinion respecting the force which he thought necessary to be employed on that service". The expedition to Mauritius was, therefore, given up⁴.

Grandpre had given up "two possible employments for taking part in the projected expedition to Mauritius and Bourbon⁵". The Governor-General and Council advanced Grandpre a sum of fifteen hundred rupees over and above the

allowance that was settled on him by the Court of Directors "as we were sensible, at the same time, that the monthly salary assigned to him in India was wholly inadequate to his necessary expences. The Governor-General also agreed to reimburse him his expences during his stay in Calcutta, for which purpose he was advanced the amount mentioned above⁶. The actual expences of Grandpre on his way to Bengal and during his stay in Calcutta amounted to S. Rs. 1408.

As the expedition was abandoned, Grandpre was allowed a passage for Madras in *Lord Hakesbury*, Captain John Price, in February. Captain Price was asked by E. Hay, Secretary to the Fort William Board, on February⁵, 1795, to accommodate C De Grandpre "who is a French officer of rank" and that he should be given suitable accommodation and treatment.

This is what we find in the official records of the East India Company, though not a word on this account is found in Grandpre's *Voyage*.

REFERENCES

1. *Fort-William—India House Correspondence* (FWIHC), vol. XVII (1792-95), Foreign, Political & Secret (edited by Y. J. Taraporewalla), National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1955, Introduction, pp. 33-34.

Major-General James Stuart was commander-in-chief of the Bombay Army.

2. FWIHC—*op. cit.*, Secret Letter from the Court of Directors, P. 133.

3. FWIHC—*op. cit.*, Secret Letter to Court of Directors from Bengal dated 30th December 1794, P. 485.

4. FWIHC, *op. cit.*, Secret Letter to the Court of Directors dated 31st January 1795, paras 6, 7 & 8; pp. 487-88.

5. *Descriptive List of Secret Department Records* (Mimeographed), Vol. IX (1791-95), edited by S. N. Prasad, National Archives, New Delhi, 1976, pp. 100-101.

6. FWIHC, *op. cit.*, Secret Letter to Court dated 31st January 1795, para 8, P. 488.

7. Proceedings of Fort William Council dated 19th January, & 13th February, 1795—*Descriptive List, op. cit.*, pp. 101-102.

UP THE HOOGLY

After staying some days at Madras, I sailed for Bengal. (P. 234).

.. /236/ The river, upon the banks of which the european settlements in Bengal are situated, is not the Ganges, and is therefore very improperly called by that name ; it is the river Hoogly, so denominated from /237/ the small Indian village which first contributed to render it important. It takes its rise in the Ganges, and may thus be strictly considered as an inferior branch of that river, the principal bed of which runs to the eastward of the Hoogly, and empties itself into the sea by numerous mouths near Chaligam.

Pilot-brigs.—The Hoogly is extermely wide at its entrance ; in ascending it, the land is not seen till we have advanced a considerable distance ; the banks of the river first appear in sight at Cadjery¹. The distance between them at the end of the shallows is very great : indeed, when we arrive at this point, we are still in the main, and the pilots, who are stationed there to take charge of the ships that arrive, are provided with vessels capable of encountering the violence of a tempest and a heavy swell : they are stout brigs, and are calculated for every sort of manoeuvre. The english company had six of these ships on an old construction, and has added six /238/ others, built at Bombay. These last are sloops of sixteen guns, and are capable of serving on occasions as ships of war. Thus the English have twelve pilot-vessels ; and, before the war, the French and Dutch had one each. These vessels lie at anchor at the outer extremity of the shallows. As soon as they are perceived, the ship that arrives fires a gun, and hangs out a flag at the head of her foretop-gallant mast, when one of them gets under way to meet her. If she proves to be only a small vessel, whose draught of water is not so considerable as to require much skill in bringing her in, one of the officers of the pilot-brig takes charge of her, and the superior returns to his station. But if it is a ship of such burden as to demand the attention of the master-pilot, he goes on board of her himself, his brig sailing before to point out the track and communicate the soundings, which is done in the day-time by flags, and in the night by lights. These precautions are all indispensable, and, though a multitude of ac-/239/-cidents are prevented, they are not always sufficient wholly to guard against

them. The tides of the Ganges are prodigiously rapid. The channels, which the stream of this river has formed in the sand-banks at its mouth, are in some places not more than half a league wide. In entering them during the south-west monsoon, the force of the wind and tide together will carry a vessel at the rate of six leagues an hour; in this state a single false stroke of the helm will throw her too much to one side, and by losing the exact direction of the channel, expose her to the greatest danger, often to the inevitable fate of being wrecked. With the north-east monsoon, on the other hand, the entrance of the river is more tedious and more laborious, but less dangerous. As the wind in this case is always contrary, it is necessary in these channels to tack continually; of consequence, vessels sailing across can make but little way, and the tide carries them to /240/ their destination. In executing this manoeuvre little skill is required in the pilot; it is merely necessary to put about, whenever the lead announces four fathom and a half of water. The depth of seven fathom denotes the middle of the channel. By continuing this method from side to side, the object is finally attained without much risk.

Our approach to Cadjery, which is on the left bank of the river, may be known by a house, standing on an eminence, belonging to the english company, which keeps a resident there. From this place is seen the point called, from the nature of its shore *Mud-point*², on the opposite bank. This point forms the southern extremity of the woods of Sondry³, famous for the enormous size of the tigers which are found there, and with which they are filled. This species is the *royal tiger*, or *tiger properly so called* of Buffon. These animals are extremely formidable by their /241/ strength and activity. Some of them are as large as oxen. Their coat is variegated with stripes of reddish yellow and black, and is whitish under the belly. They are so eager and ferocious in pursuit of their prey, that they have been known to throw themselves into the water, and swim to attack boats on the river.

It is customary in passing Cadgery to hire boats with oars to facilitate the principal manoeuvres necessary in proceeding up the river. Mine being a heavy ship, I employed twelve of these, which accompanied me as far as the roadstead opposite these woods; where, while I was at anchor, they fastened themselves to my vessel behind, as if, in the sea phrase, they

were in tow. So many boats presenting a considerable resistance to the tide, and acting with violence upon my cable, the pilot ordered them to leave me, and to range themselves along the side of the river, till the current being abated, he should call them.

Tigers.—/242/ When they had repaired to this new position, they unfortunately perceived on the shore a quantity of dry wood, consisting of branches of dead trees. As this is an article of sale at Calcutta, they landed to cut some of it and load their boats. They were at the distance of about three hundred yards from the vessel, and had scarcely begun their work when we saw them running to the water-side with the strongest marks of terror. This was not without cause, they were pursued by a tiger, of the size of a common calf : we saw it rush out of the wood, and seize upon the hindmost of these men, whom it carried off in an instant, without meeting with the slightest opposition from the unfortunate being himself, or his companions. The brother alone of the victim appeared afflicted at the event, and did not again leave his boat ; but the rest immediately returned to their employment on shore, persuaded that the tiger was satisfied, and that there was now no danger : this is their general belief.

/243/ Notwithstanding the superiority which these creatures possess over human beings by their strength, ferocity, and the arms with which nature has supplied them, a certain instinct seems to tell them, that men by their intellectual faculties are still more formidable than they : hence they avoid inhabited and cultivated places ; or if they sometimes visit them, it is only when compelled by hunger. In ascending the river Hoogly, the village of Coulp^y⁴ is the last settlement of the Indians on the right bank, and the tigers seldom appear so far up. But between this place and the Clive-islands⁵ they are so numerous, that they are sometimes seen in troops on the banks. These islands have been lately brought into a state of improvement for the cultivation of sugar. The clearing of the ground was attended with the loss of a great number of Indians, who were destroyed by these ferocious animals ; for, in cutting down the wood with which the face of the country was covered, they were dis-
/244/- turbed in their retreats, and rushed upon the labourers. What will appear extraordinary, these men never attempted to defend themselves, though their

number sometimes amounted to five hundred. They believed, that the tiger would be satisfied with carrying off one, and would then cease to appear; of consequence, whenever they perceived one approaching, they ran off in disorder, every one making the best of his way, and trusting to the swiftness of his flight, leaving the slowest to be seized and carried off; after which they returned to their work. This scene was repeated every day, without increasing the courage of the Blacks; and these continual ravages would not have been attended with the destruction of one of these monsters, if they had not at last been opposed by a few Europeans, who superintended the works, and were well armed. They have now wholly deserted these islands, which no longer afford them a retreat, and have settled on the continent, and augmented /245/ the number of those which infest the woods of Sondry.

Ganges.—Continuing to ascend the river, we arrived at Coulpy, or Port-Diamond⁶, as it is called by the English, who have provided here *cormors* for their ships; these are large anchors fixed in the ground, to which their vessels are fastened with more security than by their proper moorings.

The english government has in this place port-officers, a large bakehouse, a shambles, and hospitals for its marine. A market is held here, in which the crews of vessels may find in abundance every refreshment which the country produces.

Above this port the bed of the river turns to the left, leaving to the right a very dangerous sand-bank⁷. At a short distance further is the mouth of a large river, improperly called the Old Ganges⁸. It is not till we pass the confluence of these waters, that the borders of the /246/ Hoogly begin to be picturesque. Its immense width is here reduced to that of an ordinary large river, and affords the pleasant prospect of both banks.

A little higher on the right is Fulta⁹, a dutch possession, accustomed formerly, in the prosperous days of that company, to receive ships of considerable burden; but reduced now to so low a state, as to see only a single galliot, sent annually to take in some bales of goods, prepared in the settlement of Chinsura. This galliot is sometimes accompanied by a smaller vessel; and this forms at present the whole extent of the dutch commerce in Bengal.

The establishment on shore consists of two houses ; of which one is an inn¹⁰, built partly of bricks, and the other the residence of the commandant. This officer is a negro, charged by the company with the care of displaying their flag on a tree, in the manner of a mast. This house is /247/ still less splendid than the inn, for it is constructed entirely of straw. The Indian town however is very considerable, and has a bazar, which is well supplied. This small settlement resembles, in one point, all the colonies belonging to the dutch on the Ganges ; that of being the scene of the most unrestrained debauchery. This perfectly suits the disposition of the sailors, who here recruit the number of unhappy females that go to Port-Diamond to administer to the pleasure of the english crews, which are numerous, to contribute to fill their hospitals, and often to leave their lovers sad tokens of remembrance during their life.

My pilot having anchored near this village, I was desirous of going on shore to take a walk ; but, as the current was too strong for me to reach the town, I landed in an adjacent meadow. The first thing that met my view was a pangolin, which I pursued to the entrance of its retreat, when I made a stroke at it with my /248/ sword, which broke between two of the scales.

I then proceeded towards the village, passing through a very thick wood, across which was a path about three feet wide. I was preceded by a pion¹¹, and followed by two boys, whom the sircar of one of my friends, who had expected my arrival, had sent to meet me. To my surprise the pion suddenly made a long leap, and ran off as fast as he could ; I advanced to learn the cause, and was equally terrified myself on seeing an enormous serpent, that lay stretched across the path in which I was walking. Its length was so immense, that I could see neither its head nor its tail, which were concealed in the bushes. Its colour was brown ; it crept slowly along, and appeared to be of the size of an eighteen-inch cable ; that is to say, as nearly as I could judge, about eighteen inches in circumference. I followed the example of my soldier, and, without affecting a courage, which /249/ would have been the more ill-timed, as my sword, at best but a sorry weapon in such extremity, was already broken, jumped over this monster, and proceeded with a little more alertness than the usual pace. The two boys behind me, alarmed at seeing a pion fly, and even an european follow him with toler-

able quickness, ran back, and did not rejoin me till the next day on board my vessel.

After ascending some leagues higher in the river, we find on the right bank the anchoring ground of Mayapour¹². This place was formerly to the french, what Fulta was to the dutch : it was the road where such vessels of the french company stopped, that were unable to proceed to Chandernagore for want of the necessary depth of water. This place also has undergone the same fate as Fulta, in proportion as the affairs of France have declined on this quarter. It is at present even in a worse condition than that village ; for it has now no european houses, /250/ and no flag ; a few huts and a miserable bazar scarcely bear testimony to its former existence. No traces recal the idea of the commerce of this place during the splendour of the french company : a striking example of the vicissitudes of human institutions ! Mayapour was a port of extensive trade ; and vessels of fifteen hundred tons burden frequented its road in great numbers, dispensing abundance and luxury, when Port-Diamond did not as yet exist. At present, the latter is flourishing, while the former is deserted, and offers nothing but its name to remind the traveller of its ancient opulence : the common destiny of all the french establishments, which a constant succession of adverse events has condemned to oblivion.

At last, after proceeding a few leagues above Mayapour, the gardens and sumptuous palaces, which meet the eye, announce our approach to the capital of the East, the metropolis of the english empire in Asia, and the finest colony in the world. /251/ The magnificence of the edifices, the luxury which has covered the banks of the river into delightful gardens, and the costliness and elegance of their decorations, all denote the opulence and power of the conquerors of India and the masters of the Ganges.

Calcutta.—The windings of this river conceal in some degree the town of Calcutta, which we do not perceive till we are within a short distance of it. Fort-William, the finest fortress that exists out of Europe, presents itself immediately to the sight, which it astonishes by its grandeur and the splendour of the buildings, that are seen above its ramparts. The houses, which form the first front of the tower to the end of the glacis, are so many magnificent palaces, some of them having a peris-

style of four-and-twenty pillars. All these structures, disposed in an irregular line through a space of more than a league, form an inconceivably striking prospect, and give to the town a most noble and majestic appearance.

/252/ Calcutta is the only European settlement of any importance on this bank of the Ganges : the other nations have fixed upon the left side, while the English alone have preferred the right. Whatever were the causes of this preference, the situation is ill-chosen. The ground is not sufficiently raised above the level of the river, and frequently, in the high tides, the esplanade which separates the citadel from the town, if not totally inundated, is at least covered with water in different parts so as to be impassable.

The air of Calcutta is by no means healthy, its position between the river and a large lake in its rear subjecting it to the influence of unwholesome exhalations : but the european inhabitants remedy this defect by living in the country. There is however one inconvenience that cannot be remedied, which is the situation of its port. This stands exactly at the turn of two points, which augment the violence of the current in every state /253/ of the tide. The bar is frequently here of sufficient strength to drive the vessels from their moorings.¹³ The currents being extremely violent, particularly in July and August, the time of the melting of the snow on the mountains in the interior parts of the country, the first effect of the flood-tide at these periods is, not only to stop the course of the river, but to surmount it with so much force as to require a rapid course of its own. Bengal lies so low, that when the sea, increased by these torrents, rushes in this manner into the bed of the river, its violence is irresistible. The ebb current, meeting a similar obstacle, has at first a tendency to raise itself, but the flood being impelled with a superior force, gains the ascendancy and passes over it. From this shock results a very heavy and foaming surge, which the tide pushes before it with a prodigious rapidity, to the imminent danger of every boat that is not prudent enough to keep out of its way.

/254/ This bar¹⁴ has never its full effect, but on one side of the river at a time, and the mischief it occasions may be avoided by taking the side on which it is weakest, which may easily be perceived. Every salient angle in the windings of the

river, presenting an obstacle to its progress, throws it towards the contrary bank, and it continues thus till repelled by another projection, which turns it again. The Indians flock to the borders of the river, impatient to wet themselves with the water, which they believe to be salutary, and which they sprinkle over their bodies with devotion, uttering as they do it exclamations of joy.

Calcutta is situated so as to receive the whole force of the bar, which sometimes, and especially in the spring-tides, is very great. To render this anchorage as wretched as possible, it is interspersed with numerous sand-banks, even opposite to the fort and the town. The necessary operations of the port are thus checked; and when the depth of the river is reduced by the ebb, its course, obstructed by these impediments, increases in rapidity, and occasions innumerable accidents, such as destruction of boats, damage of vessels, loss of anchors, &c.

I was witness to an instance of this sort, which put the whole anchorage into confusion. The *parias*,¹⁵ which are generally numerous, moor themselves above the european ships, opposite the Black Town. They are usually fastened together, and thus present to the current a long line of vessels, of which the cables act together. This practice is not unaccompanied with risk, but it prevents the vessels from yawning, that is, swinging from one side to the other, tracing an arc of a circle, of which the anchor is the centre, and the cable the radius. This motion renders the strain upon the cable unequal, often drags the anchor, and is the occasion, when any other vessel is within the extent of the arc thus described, of very serious mischief. In this view therefore the practice of fastening these vessels together is of advantage. But unfortunately, at the time of which I speak, the cable of one of the *parias*, at the extremity of the line, parted, and the vessel immediately fell athwart the horse of the next. Their cables are generally good, but their anchors are abominable: that of the second *paria* gave way, and two were thus adrift. The rest followed in succession, and in a quarter of an hour they were all in disorder, to the number of a hundred and fifty at least. In this condition they could make no effectual resistance to the current, and were driven forcibly against the nearest european ships at anchor behind them. The crews of these ships encountered them

with hatchets, cutting and damaging in every way such as fastened on them : the number however was too great; the tide threw them athwart horse of those, that were moored, thus carrying away their bowsprits, while the anchors /257/ and cables, unequal to such an exertion, also gave way. The whole was now a scene of disorder: the ships mixed with the parias, and nothing was heard but the noise of masts and yards breaking. Some had the precaution to run aground, others continued to increase the confusion, from which few succeeded in escaping entirely. The direction of the tide exempted such only as were out of the stream; all the rest shared in the danger. Let the reader figure to himself nearly three hundred vessels turned suddenly adrift, endeavouring to grapple with each other, and carried away at the same time by the current with a rapidity that was sure to be the destruction of all such as should strike upon the sand-banks; let him add to this, the cries, oaths, imprecations, and blasphemies of the crews of so many nations, speaking different languages, without understanding each other, and he will have a faint idea of the scene that was then before me. Had the vessels that were driven from their moorings thrown /258/ out the anchors which they had still on board, they would all inevitably have been lost; but they had the wisdom to retain them till they were clear of their companions; and, as soon as they found themselves free, they anchored wherever they could till the return of the tide, or assistance should be sent from the port. I happened to be on board my vessel at the beginning of the confusion. I was at anchor in the middle of the river, and nearly in the centre of the harbour, in a situation in which I could not possibly have avoided the general fate, had not a circumstance luckily determined me upon taking measures to withdraw from the peril, which I perceived approaching. A large english ship, removing from the crowd, compelled me to the only step that could possibly have saved me; for it came towards me with so much rapidity, that I had scarcely time to cut my cable with an axe, to prevent a rencontre¹⁶ that might have proved fatal to us both. I suffered my vessel to drift, without anchoring again /259/ till I got below the citadel, to a distance of a mile and a half. Here I moored with two anchors, and remained in safety till order was re-established at Calcutta, when I returned to my station.

An accident of this kind is the most fortunate event that can happen for the officers of the port. They first sell, either of themselves, or by means of their Blacks, the anchors that may be wanted, and then take a declaration from each captain, specifying those which he has lost, their weight and marks, a description of the ends of the cables which are fastened to them, the spot near which they may be expected to be found, and in short every particular that may assist in their recovery. This declaration is formally registered, and the captains hear no more of the matter.

I lost five in the course of three weeks; and I did not fail, as to the first two, to make the declarations which were required. Each time I had no doubt, when I /260/ left the office¹⁷, that the anchor in question was as safe as if on board my vessel, and that I should certainly have it the moment I claimed it. After losing two, I thought I had a right to demand one, and I requested that the first might be raised, offering at the same time to pay the expenses.

The person to whom I addressed myself was an ingenuous sort of personage, who plundered upon principle : he believed, that to regulate his conduct by honour or honesty was merely to be a dupe, injuring himself without benefit to any one, for that others would continue to cheat if he did not. He accordingly laughed at my simplicity, and politely advised me to think no more of my anchors. As the loss however was of importance to me, and it would require a large sum to replace them, I was loath to take this advice, and I redoubled my inquiries and complaints. I had to apply to the port-captain T. . .¹⁸, whose honesty was prover-/261/-bial ; he had amassed in this way a considerable fortune, and had since been seized with scruples as to the irregular proceedings of the officers of the port. His conscience did not urge him to the restitution of what he had acquired, but he wished to prevent others from doing the same. This was by no means agreeable to his colleagues, who, jealous of all interference in their concerns, paid little regard to the commands of an aged captain, whose physical and moral activity was very unequal to the task of watching over them ; and thus, with all the honesty of their chief, the subalterns were knaves.

Mr. T. . ., in the english manner, *damning his eyes and soul*, swore that *anchors should be found and returned to me*,

The first part of his oath was accomplished ; but the second was dispensed by the winds, for I never saw my anchors again. He very obligingly gave me an order to be supplied with a sloop, divers Blacks, and/262/ a marine officer, to enable me to raise them myself. With this I returned in high spirits to the office of the port, where, after waiting half an hour, a person came to speak to me, who read the order twice over, and then carried it to a second, who also read it and sent it to a third, who was busy, and answered *very well*. It was not till an hour more, that, seeing me resolved to wait, this last took off his spectacles, and, approaching me, inquired my business. I told him that I had brought an order from Mr. T. . . . , which would inform him. *Very well*, said he ; and taking up the order, he put on his spectacles, after wiping them for some time, read the paper twice, returned it to its place, repeated his *very well*, and turned his back upon me.

I begged him to give directions on the subject, and inform me when I should be furnished with the articles mentioned in the paper ; adding, that it was a matter of urgency, as my vessel was lying at single /263/ anchor, and that I had not another on board. The fatal *very well* was all the answer I could obtain. The person to whom I had originally applied, and who had advised me to think no more of my anchors, now came in, and took up the order ; after asking permission of the other, who replied by a slight inclination of the head and the two words he had used with me : it seemed indeed as if he knew no other. At last I was directed to call again the next day.

I immediately provided myself with new anchors to insure the safety of my vessel ; and, on the morrow, faithful to my appointment, I waited on Mr. *Very-well*, who at this time did not utter a word. An apprenticed pilot told me, that he was sent to attend me. I left the office without delay, and hastened to the sloop that was allotted me, with a diver and twenty Blacks. In passing my vessel, I took also ten of the best of my crew, and two boats of the country, which were /264/ then in my employ, which I manned with my own people, placing an officer in each. Arrived at the spot where I had lost my anchor, I endeavoured in vain by the assistance of the men belonging to the port to find them. Their awkwardness was so great, and appeared so unnatural, that I suspected some trick. I therefore ordered my officers in the boats to drag,

pointing to the place near which I supposed one of the anchors to be sunk, and they found it at the first attempt. The diver was then sent to examine its situation, and fasten it to a rope with a sliding knot; but he had scarcely reached the bottom, when the log-line which I had employed to drag with lost its hold. I now saw, that it had been privately ordered, that I should not succeed. My men dragged again, and again found the anchor: but while I was preparing the slip-knot, the pilot, on pretence of assisting me, drew the log-line against the side of the sloop, and it broke. We were thus obliged a third time to recommence the /265/ attempt, and the diver made another fruitless trial to fasten the rope; at last he pretended that the anchor was sunk too deep in the mud, and said, that he was too much fatigued to dive any more. During these operations the flood-tide had been increasing, and it was now so strong, that it was necessary to suspend our efforts. The pilot agreed to leave the sloop at anchor on the spot, to serve as a mark in resuming our attempts on the morrow: to which I consented. At day-break however I looked in vain for the sloop; it was no longer there. I hastened to the port-officers, and was told, that they were wholly ignorant what was become of it, and they pretended to send in every direction to make inquiries: a trouble they might have saved themselves, for they knew perfectly well where it was. On the third day, they informed me, that the sloop was found, and they added to this information an account of the expenses which had been incurred, and which must immediately be paid: so much a-day for the sloop, so much for /266/ the pilot for so many days, so much for the Lascars *ditto*, so much for the diver *ditto*, so much for the port-charges, so much for the furniture of the sloop, so much for the cable, which broke, so much for the anchor, which was lost in consequence, so much for the Blacks who recovered the vessel, so much for those who brought it back to the port, so much for repairing the damages it had sustained; in short, there was no end to the items, of which the sum total amounted to five hundred and sixty-seven sicca rupees. It was useless to dispute the charges; the business must be ended and the money paid. When I returned to the officer for the purpose, one of the clerks pointed with his pen to Mr. *Very-well*, who took it without saying a word, cast his eye over the bill, counted the rupees, saluted me with a *very well*, and dismissed me; deter-

mined in my heart never to attempt the recovery of another anchor, though I should lose them by dozens. This instance was enough : I had lost in expenses more than the value /267/ of the anchor, which I had dragged for to no purpose, and was unable to recover any of the others.

I complained loudly of this imposition ; but was answered only by a shrug of the shoulders, and the cold consolation, "It is a sad thing for you, but every body must live". In reality, foreign vessels never recover any thing which is lost in anchorage. Some english captains, indeed, who are favoured, may occasionally experience a better treatment ; but these exceptions are few. The officers of the port seize the opportunity of low water to raise the anchors that have been lost, and they sell them without scruple to whoever may want them.

I hope to be excused this slight sally of resentment, which the recollection of the injustice of which I have been the spectator and the victim has torn from me : I could not resist the impulse, nor abstain from the disclosure of such odious practices, though at the risk of offending certain individuals whom I have avoided naming. It is the last time, however, that I shall cite any one before the tribunal of the reader ; hereafter I shall leave to that of their own conscience those who, renouncing every sentiment of honour and hospitality, can employ the portion of authority with which they are intrusted, in robbing, at the distance of five thousand leagues from their country, the people whom they ought to protect. At the extremity of Asia all Europeans are countrymen, or at least should consider themselves as such.

The citadel¹⁹ of Calcutta is an octagon, on the first plan of Vauban. Five of the faces are regular, while the forms of the other three, which front the river, are according to the fancy of the engineer, by whom the fortress was built. As no approach is to be feared on this side, and the citadel can only be attacked by water, the river coming up to the glacis, it was /269/ merely necessary to present to vessels making such attempt a superiority of fire, and to provide the means of discovering them at a distance, in order to disable them the moment they should arrive within cannon-shot. These purposes have been attained by giving the citadel towards the water the form of a large salient angle ; the faces of which enfilade the course of the river. From these faces the guns continue to bear upon the object, till it

approaches very near the capital : but then they are flanked on each side by a front parallel to the border of the river, which would fire with great effect on vessels lying with their broad-sides to it. This part is likewise defended by adjoining bastions and a counter-guard that covers them. The five regular fronts are on the land-side ; the bastions have all very salient orillons, behind which are retired circular flanks extremely spacious, and an inverse double flank at the height of the berme, in the same situation as the tenaille of Belidon. This double flank would be /270/ an excellent defence, and would the better serve to retard the passage of the ditch, as from its form it cannot be enfiladed. The orillon preserves it from the effect of ricochet-shot, and it is not to be seen from any parallel. The assailants must gain possession of the covered way, make strong lodgments there, and construct batteries of a superior force, before they can silence it, for it can only be cannonaded from the counterscarp. The berme opposite the curtain serves as a road to it, and contributes to the defence of the ditch, like a *fausse-braie*. The ditch is dry, with a *cunette* in the middle, which receives the water of the Ganges²⁰ by means of two sluices, that are commanded by the fort : the counterscarp and covered way are excellent. From some air-holes which I saw in the ramparts, I suppose the master-gallery to have been constructed behind the counter-forts of the revetement. The glacis are mined, if I may judge from the gates or entrances to the galleries which I saw at the re-entering angles of the covered /271/ way, on the side towards the country : every curtain is covered with a large half-moon, without flanks, on bonnet, or redoubt ; but the faces mount thirteen pieces of artillery each, thus giving to the defence of these revelins²¹ a fire of six-and-twenty guns. The demi-bastions, which terminate the five regular fronts on each side, are covered by a counter-guard, of which the faces, like the half-moons, are pierced with thirteen embrasures. These counter-guards are connected with two redoubts, constructed in the place of arms of the adjacent re-entering angles : the whole is faced and palisadoed with care, is kept in admirable condition, and can make a vigorous defence against any army however formidable. The advanced works are executed on an extensive scale, and the angles of the half-moons, being extremely acute, project a great way into the country, so as to be in view of each other beyond the flanked

angle of the polygon, and take the trenches in the rear at an early period of the approach.

/272/ The name of this citadel is Fort William. It is larger and capable of more regular and scientific defence than that of Fort St. George at Madras. It is not, like Fort St. George, filled with houses, but contains only the buildings that are necessary, such as the residence of the governor, quarters for the officers and troops, and arsenals. Exclusively of these, the interior of the fort is perfectly open, and offers nothing to the sight but superb grass-plots, gravel walks planted occasionally with trees, balls, bombs, cannons, and whatever can give to the place a grand, noble, and military appearance. Each gate²² has a house over it destined for the residence of a major.

These houses, like every other in the fort, are so many magnificent palaces. At the period of my last voyage, the governor was colonel Morgan²³, who filled the station with honour, and behaved to strangers with great politeness. One day, on leaving table, we accompanied him /273/ to his closet, where was preserved with extraordinary care a superb full-length portrait of Lewis²⁴ XV in complete armour : it had been taken at Pondicherry, and had thence been removed to Bengal. The colonel was eager to draw my attention to it. I was pleased to emotion with the respect that was paid to it, but felt at the same time a sentiment of regret at seeing it in the hands of our enemies : it seemed as if his majesty was a prisoner of war. This idea recalled strongly to my memory the series of our defeats in Asia, and forced from me a sigh, which did not escape the governor ; but his delicate and constant politeness soon dissipated the melancholy impression which these reflections wrought upon my mind. (End of Vol. I)

/Vol. II P. I/ The governor-general of the english settlements, east of the Cape of Good Hope, resides at Calcutta. As there is no palace²⁵ yet built for him, he lives in a house on the esplanade opposite the citadel. The house is handsome, but by no means equal to what it ought to be for a personage of so much importance. Many private individuals in the town have houses as good ; and if the governor were disposed to any extraordinary luxury, he must curb his inclination for want of the necessary accommodation of room. The house of the governor of Pondicherry is much more magnificent.

Square.—/2/ As we enter the town, a very extensive square opens before us, with a large piece of water in the middle, for the public use. The pond has a grass-plot round it, and the whole is inclosed by a wall breast-high, with a railing on the top. The sides of this inclosure are each nearly five hundred yards in length. The square itself is composed of magnificent houses, which render Calcutta not only the handsomest town in Asia, but one of the finest in the world. One side of the square consists of a range of buildings occupied by persons in civil employments under the company, such as writers²⁶ in the public offices. Part of the side towards the river is taken up by the old fort, which was the first citadel built by the English after their establishment in Bengal. It is an indifferent square, with extremely small bastions, that can mount at most but one gun, though the sides are pierced for two. The fort is without a ditch, and is no longer used for a fortification: the ramparts are converted into gardens, and on the bastions and in /3/ the inside of the fort houses have been built for persons in the service of the government, particularly the officers of the custom-house, who transact their business there. These fortifications are so much reduced from the scale on which they were originally constructed, that the line of defence is now only a hundred and forty or a hundred and fifty yards in length, and the front not more than two hundred. Though this small fort was much superior to that which the English had built at first at Madras, it could not protect them from the resentment of the nabob of Bengal, Suraja Dowla, with whom they were at war: it was taken, and such of the english troops as escaped fled for safety to Cadjery²⁷, where also they were besieged. The conqueror, when he got possession of the fort at Calcutta, had the prisoners which he took there thrust one upon another into a hole, outside the fort, from which those only were fortunate enough to come out alive who happened to be uppermost in the heap; the rest were all suffocated. *Monument.*—In /4/ remembrance of so flagrant an act of barbarity, the English, who were conquerors in their turn, erected a mounment²⁸ between the old fort and the right wing of the building occupied by the civil officers of the company, on the very spot where the deed was committed. It is a pyramid, truncated at the top, and standing upon a square pedestal, having a design in sculpture on each of its side, and an inscription in the english and moorish languages, describing

the occasion on which it was erected. It is surrounded with an iron railing to prevent access to it, has shrubs planted about it, and exhibits a mournful appearance, not unsuitable to the event which it is intended to commemorate.

Close to the old fort is the theatre²⁹, which does not accord in appearance with the general beauty of the town, and in which there are seldom dramatic representations, for want of performers.

Calcutta.—/5/ There are two churches of the english establishment³⁰ at Calcutta, one of which is built in a superb and regular style of architecture, with a circular range of pillars in front, of the doric order, and beautiful in their proportion; the cornice and architrave, ornamented with the triglyphs, are in the same excellent taste, and the edifice altogether is a model of grandeur and elegance.

There are also, besides these regular establishments, a catholic church belonging to the portuguese mission³¹, another of the greek persuasion³², in which the service is performed by monks of the order of St. Basil, an armenian³³ conventicle, a synagogue³⁴, several mosques, and a great number of pagodas : so that nearly all the religions in the world are assembled in this capital.

Black Town.—The Black Town is to the north of Calcutta, and contiguous to it : it is extremely large ; and its population, at the turn of /6/ my last voyage, was computed at six hundred thousand Indians, women and children included.

Police.—So considerable a town ought to possess a vigilant police ; but in this respect it is very defective. Those who disturb the public tranquillity are indeed apprehended, but the condition of the town itself is disgustingly unclean. Most of the streets have a small canal on each side, serving as a drain both for them and the houses, that could not otherwise be inhabited, on account of their dampness; for the Ganges, in the great swells, rises to the level of many of the streets, so that it is impossible to dig any where without finding water. These canals, which are a foot and half, and in some places two feet wide, and not more than three deep, are reservoirs of filth; that emit the most unwholesome exhalations. Such animals as die in the streets or in the houses are thrown into them, and they lie there and putrify. From want, sickness, or accident, many a /7/ poor wretch of the human species also expires in the

streets : I have seen an instance of this, where the body has remained two days without being taken away by the police. When this happens, the remains are thrown in like manner into the canals, and thus add to the putrefaction. The natives are sufficiently cleanly as to their persons and houses ; but, having removed from the latter every thing which would occasion filth, they conceive themselves to have done all that is necessary. They leave even their ordure at the door or in the street, and, though they complain of the stench, will not give themselves the trouble to remove it.

These remains of men and animals, engendering putrefaction in the midst of the living would, eventually produce the plague, if the jackals, who sometimes traverse the streets by throngs in the night, howling dreadfully and devouring every thing in their way, did not prevent it. I have seen the body of a poor creature /8/ lying dead at my door (the one I have just spoken of) serve two nights for food to some of these hungry animals. The first night they carried away the head and other parts of it. The body, without limbs, was rolling in the dust all the next day, and trodden upon indiscriminately by the men and beasts that passed, without any person having the humanity to remove it : the second night it was either entirely devoured or carried away, and I was relieved from so disgusting a spectacle.

Ravens.—What is not consumed in this manner by the jackals remains for the ravens and eagles, with which the town abounds. They are seen on the houses, watching for every thing that is thrown into the streets, and they will drop without fear into the middle of a crowd to seize their prey. Great care is taken not to destroy them, as they contribute to the cleanliness of the town, and in that view are extremely useful. They are in general daring and voracious. I have seen a raven, in /9/ the bazar called *terrira*³⁵, seize upon a fish in the hands of an old negro³⁶ woman who had just purchased it. I lived opposite this market-place, the neighbourhood of which was the resort of an immense number of eagles, attracted thither by the smell which arose from the place. One day my cook, coming across the yard with a roasted fowl, brought nothing to table but the dish ; the fowl was in the talons of an eagle, that, having robbed him of it, flew with it to the top of the house and tranquilly feasted upon it before our eyes.

All the houses in India have *argamasse* roofs, that is to say, are flat with a balustrade round them. It is there the inhabitants in the morning and evening take the air. Some are ornamented with a circular range of pillars on the first story, making a sort of gallery, to which they retire when the heat of the day is over.

Provisions.—With respect to living, the fare is but indifferent at Calcutta. Provisions for the /10/ table are confined to butcher's meat, a fowl now and then, but little or no game, and scarcely a greater quantity of fish. Mutton is almost universally and the preferable and standing dish.

Flies.—In the summer a swarm of flies of every kind prevails, and is extremely tormenting. The muskitoes³⁷ beset one so obstinately, are so easily provoked and so extremely insatiable, that too many precautions cannot be taken against them. To be secure from their attacks, it is the custom to wear within doors, if one stays any time, whether for meals or any other purpose, pasteboard round the legs. The most eager after flesh is the large blue fly, which settles upon the dishes and infects the meat, that is obliged on that account to be covered: it will contend with the guests for the victuals they are eating, and will follow the morsels as they convey them to their mouths. It is equally remarkable for thirst, and will throw itself into a goblet the moment any kind of /11/ liquor is poured into it: to prevent this the goblet is covered with a silver lid made for the purpose. In short, these insects are insupportable; they realise every thing which Virgil has said of the harpies, and twenty times, by their persecution, have they driven me from the table.

To chase away the flies, and occasion a freer circulation of the air, many houses have a large fan hanging from the ceiling over the eating table, of a square form,—and balanced on an axle fitted to the upper part of it. A servant, standing at one end of the room, puts it in motion by means of a cord which is fastened to it, in the same manner as he would ring a bell. Besides this, there is a servant behind the chair of each individual with another kind of fan, made of a branch of the palm-tree. The stalk serves for a handle, and the leaves, fastened together and cut into a round or square shape, give it the appearance of a flag. By these contrivances a little fresh air is procured.

Hooka.—/12/ It is chiefly in Bengal, where smoking after meals is customary, that the *hooka* is in use. Every *hooka-bredar* prepares separately that of his master in an adjoining apartment, and, entering all together with the dessert, they range them round the table. For half an hour there is a continued clamour, and nothing is distinctly heard but the cry of silence, till the noise subsides and the conversation assumes its usual tone. It is scarcely possible to see through the cloud of smoke which fills the apartment. The effect produced by these circumstances is whimsical enough to a stranger, and if he has not his *hooka* he will find himself in an awkward and unpleasant situation. The rage of smoking extends even to the ladies; and the highest compliment they can pay a man is to give him preference by smoking his *hooka*. In this case it is a point of politeness to take off the mouth-piece he is using, and substitute a fresh one, which he presents to the lady with his *hooka*, who soon returns it. This /13/ compliment is not always a trivial importance; it sometimes signifies a great deal to a friend, and often still more to a husband³⁸. Tobacco forms but a small part of the ingredients that are burnt in this instrument: dried fruits, sugar, and other things are made use of, which, added to the rose-water with which the tube of the instrument is wetted, give a taste and fragrance to the smoke that are extremely agreeable; the smoke too, by passing through the water before it reaches the mouth, acquires a coolness that renders it still more pleasant.

Equippages.—Conveyance by the palanquin is in use at Bengal, as on the coast of the peninsula; but Calcutta, exclusively of this mode, abounds with all sorts of carriages, chariots, whiskies, and phaetons, which occasion in the evening as great a bustle as in one of the principal towns of Europe.

Horses.—There are also a great number of saddle horses, some of the persian breed, of exquisite beauty, but no Arabians; except /14/ a small sort called *pooni*³⁹, which are very much in vogue for phaetons. All these animals are faulty; many of them vicious; for they are trusted to moorish⁴⁰ grooms, who know indeed how to feed and fatten them, but who teach them at the same time the most incorrigible habits. A friend of mine having given me the free use of his stud, his moorish grooms, after following me one day to the public walk, as was usual, were so displeased with the quickness of my pace, that they deter-

mined not to be exposed to it again. I know not what they did to the horses, but I could never, subsequently to this period, make any of them go faster than a walk. Having a desire a few days afterwards to make a ride, I was scarcely out of the stable, and had the reins in my hand, when my horse began his capers. I applied the spur, and he was still more restive. I patted and coaxed him : it was of no use. I dismounted ; I examined the bridle, the bit, and the curb ; I even took it off ; and replaced it myself : /15/ I removed the saddle, to see that nothing improper had been put underneath ; I inspected his tail and his shoes : every thing was right, and as it ought to be ; and all this time the animal was perfectly quiet. I mounted him again, and he readily set off walking, without waiting to be told ; but the moment I attempted to make him trot, he instantly recommenced his tricks. I then applied the spur unsparingly to his side ; upon which, without advancing a step, he played such antics, that I thought he would have killed me. Yet this was the same horse I had rode two days before, and which had then shown in every respect the utmost gentleness and obedience. I resigned him to the Moor, who immediately led him in a canter to the stable. I shall make no comment on this singular incident, and should in vain be asked to explain it. I relate precisely what I saw, and no more. A similar circumstance occurred to me at Yanaon⁴¹ with a horse of Mr. Demars.

Races.—/16/ The English have begun to improve the breed of the Bengal horses : they have crossed the persian mares with english stallions, and, to excite emulation, have established races similar to those of New-market and Epsom. In 1794, I saw a horse that had been brought from England contend on the course with a most noble animal of the persian breed ; but the english one conquered, and won, in two successive heats, every bet that was made, to the great joy of its countrymen, who cried in transport, "Old England for ever !" It should be observed ; that this was only a week after the horse had been landed. Notwithstanding its confinement on board, and the fatigue of so long a voyage, it was still able to contend successfully with a fresh and well trained arabian : a proof that the english breed surpasses that of every other country in fleetness.

*Bazaras*⁴².—Though carriages are so numerous at Calcutta, they are never used for travelling. Almost all journeys are made by /17/ water. Bengal is so intersected with rivers and canals, that you can go to any part of it in a boat. For this purpose the richer class of people make use of a conveyance called *bazaras*. Nothing can exceed the elegance and convenience of these little vessels. They have commodious apartments, like a house, and are followed by a large boat, containing a kitchen and its furniture, so that a person may travel in this country more pleasantly than in any other part of the world, and without experiencing greater fatigue, than if he were all the time in his own house.

Shipbuilding.—A great many ships are built at Calcutta, and in the yards are several stocks well filled ; but these vessels are very expensive. They are extremely solid, and are made of teak wood, which has the quality of rotting much more slowly than oak. Vessels which are built of it will accordingly last a very long time, if kept from running aground ; for the wood is oily, which prevents it from decaying ; /18/ but being free from knots, it splits so easily, that a single stroke of an axe upon one end of a beam a foot thick will divide it quite through to the other end. Oak on the contrary is full of knots, which add to its power of resistance ; but it is by no means so durable as teak.

Commerce.—The privilege of the company is so great as to prevent any individual from trading to any part of Europe, or at least to England ; but from one place to another in India the trade is free, and is very considerable both to China and elsewhere. The river Hougly is in consequence covered with vessels, which add to the opulence and industry of Calcutta. The wealth of this place is indeed extraordinary ; silver money they will scarcely deign to mention ; they reckon only by the *gulmohur*⁴³, a piece of gold of the value of sixteen rupees, or forty two livres, estimating the piece-of-eight at five livres five sous. Then Indians have the practice of clipping the coin, like the Jews in Europe, so that /19/ on receiving a sum of money, it is necessary to be provided with a *seraff*⁴⁴, who weighs and values the different pieces.

Bramins.—The money of the people is the *cowries* of the Maldiv-Islands. The trade of Bengal is in the hands of the *sircars*, who are there what the *dobiches*⁴⁵ are on the coast.

These sircars are Bramins, who lose no part of their dignity or importance by becoming merchants. They are known by a string of cotton, of seven threads, which they wear next their skin, in the manner of a scarf, from right to left, and are assisted by clerks, who have the privilege of composing a separate cast, and look upon themselves a division of that of the Bramins, subordinate indeed to the truth itself, but superior to all other casts.

Bengal is at present the true country of the Bramins. Their names terminate almost always in *ram*; a distinction of honour answering nearly to the French /20/ *de*, the German *von*, or the *don* of the Spaniards; with this difference, that it follows the name instead of preceding it. The name of my sircar was Chissou; but, adding the final syllable of etiquette, he was called Chissouram. He was intelligent, honest, and, what is a very rare quality in a sircar, but little greedy after gain.

Opinion concerning the Bramins.—The ease with which these people learn any thing is wonderful; they all both speak and write the french, english, portuguese, moorish, malabar, and their own sacred language⁴⁶; which last no one understands that does not belong to their cast. Some modern authors, and particularly the English, have made us acquainted with passages of their sacred books, their *Veidam*⁴⁷ and their *Ezourvedam*⁴⁸; and in the national library at Paris is a translation of the *Cormovedam*⁴⁹⁻⁵⁰. I respect the profound knowledge of these authors; I pretend not to call their honour in question; but would rather believe, /21/ since they affirm it, that the translations they give us are authentic, or at least that they think so themselves. I shall only remark, how much it is to be wished, that this sacred language of the Bramins were publicly known, that we may all be enabled to profit by the light which must result from an acquaintance with the annals of so ancient and so learned a people. I am far from wishing to throw doubts upon such supposed books of theirs as have been made known to us: my opinion, besides, would have but little weight against authorities so great; yet it appears to me, that whoever has been personally acquainted with the Bramins, and has studied their character and prejudices, must be struck with the unusual marks of confidence which the communication of such passages implies, and the inferences to which such confidence would lead. If a person thus acquainted with them were dis-

posed to make objections as to these passages, he might say, "The Bramins are by no means communicative ; /22/ it is a point of their religion even, to conceal from all the world the knowledge of their language and their books. We must therefore suppose, that some of their chiefs, for they alone have the custody of the books and the law, have conquered the aversion they naturally entertained for foreign casts ; have lost all remorse at so flagrant a renunciation of their precepts ; and have chosen to risk their being excommunicated from their cast, which they value above life itself, rather than disoblige a stranger, who might have asked them for so important communications."

I am aware, that these writings are now matters of general notoriety ; that the most celebrated authors are eager to propagate them : fragments of these sacred books are printed in almost every publication ; travelers have been professed to have acquainted a perfect knowledge of the sanscrit language at Bengal. All this is so common, that I ought to believe it, and I do so, though these Bramins are greatly under the influence of their religion, which /23/ imposes a law upon them to conceal from us what we thus pretend to know ; though a much lighter fault will subject them to the loss of their cast, a calamity which they will sacrifice every thing to avoid, or, when this has happened to regain the privilege ; though even when lost irrecoverably, the person so situated still remains invariably attached to it, and does not on that account the less completely despise all other casts ; consequently, never endeavours to avenge himself by betraying his own ; in short, though it were possible to believe, that, to get rid of the importunities of those who solicited them, they had entered into an agreement among themselves, to communicate merely indifferent circumstances, with the hope of being left quiet as to other matters, or had even invented what has been told us, for the express purpose of putting an end to the inquiries of Europeans, by pretending to satisfy us, and thus conceal more effectually all knowledge of their real mysteries,—in spite of all this, can I do other /24/ than believe what has been told us by so many respectable authors ? But let me be suffered once more to remark, that if the communications which the Bramins have made to us be true, they must have transgressed the laws of their religion ; that if they have so far betrayed their trust, they must have lost inviolable attachment to it, which for so many ages has maintained in

them the most profound secrecy upon the subject ; that if the spirit of exclusion towards strangers be destroyed in them, the line of demarcation by which they were separated from the rest of the world must be destroyed ; and, that if the secrets of their cast are unveiled, the respect which it has hitherto inspired will soon be lost and annihilated. Nothing is ever revered by the people but what is mysterious and concealed ; and this is the foundation of the sacred opinion which is entertained by the Bramins ; the moment they shall be known, the sentiment by which that opinion is maintained will be obliterated. This cast then, which mocks /25/ the efforts of history to trace its origin, must quickly disappear : and the genius of revolution, which has lately changed the face of Europe, would seem destined to extend his influence through the universe, to destroy opinions regarded as sacred in the most distant parts of the globe, and to unveil a secret preserved inviolable through a succession of ages too great for the calculations of our chronology to reach.

The Bramins still pursue their studies at Benares, a town which maintains celebrity on account of the learned who live there. The nabob of this country has entirely lost his power, and is now merely the humble servant of the english company. But even were Benares to be laid low by some conquering arm, the Bramins, amidst the din of war, which they have abjured, would not abandon their studies. During all the revolutions which the Mogul Empire experienced, all the convulsions by which Bengal was distracted /26/ when invaded by Mahometanism, these people, unchanged in their pursuits, their virtues, the mildness of their manners, and the secrecy of their doctrines, stedfast in the persuasion of the superiority of their morals and their descent, never failed to obtain the admiration even of their victorious enemies, who, submitting to the universal veneration which they saw paid to them, have acknowledged their own inferiority. Thus in a manner superior to the accidents of the world and the revolutions of states, they have maintained a supremacy over the minds of every nation. Without the empire gained by arms, they possess that of opinion ; and, isolated in the middle of the world, they have triumphed over time itself. And yet, with so high a degree of glory, the result of so much patience and virtue, we must suppose they would sacrifice this to satisfy the importunate curiosity of a few travelers, totally unknown to them, who had come from the remotest regions

of the earth to inquire into their mysteries ; that, /27/ in direct violation of the essential precepts of their religion, they would discard, in favour of these foreigners, a silence rendered sacred by a series of ages, and reveal secrets which were the foundation of a superiority preserved and transmitted by their ancestors from the earliest periods of the world. What an instance of the instability of human affairs !

The conclude, if I have taken the liberty to hazard conjectures respecting the sacred volumes of the Bramins, let me repeat, that it is no part of my intention to raise doubts as to the authenticity of such translations as we possess. I have no proofs against them. If I had, the reputation of the authors would not deter me from saying to the world, "Do not give credit to those books ; they are false". In the present case, I am so far from attempting to weaken the respect which is paid to them, that I have confined myself to reflexions on the general character of the Bramins, and the inconsistency which their com-/28/-munications of this nature manifest : my conclusions evidently are less against the books themselves than against the cast.

Commerce.—The trade of Calcutta is very extensive. It is through this channel that the company obtains the saltpetre, and all the muslins which we see in Europe ; while it exports to this part spanish coins, gold thread, copper, lead, iron in bars and wrought, english manufactures of different sorts for the use of the Europeans there, wine and brandy, sea-salt, and marine stores of every kind. Individuals there obtain pepper and arrac from the coast of Malabar ; raw silks, nankeens, porcelain, and tea from China ; to which place they send in return the cotton of the Malabar coast. The grain of Bengal they export to every part of India, receive silks from Surat, send muslins and European commodities to Macao and the Philippine islands, and give circulation to all these articles in the whole interior of Asia. A commerce which extends to such a /29/ variety of branches cannot fail to enrich those who cultivate it, and accordingly Calcutta is the richest town in India. Private merchants, however, are not the most wealthy class of those who reside there ; the company's servants are much richer, and become so much rapidly.

A young man who comes from London in the capacity of writer, without a single rupee in his pocket when he arrives,

find himself in four-and-twenty hours swimming in wealth. He is no sooner landed than the sircars offer him their purses ; which he is not tardy in accepting, and immediately he has his palanquin, his horses, his servants, his cooks, and every accommodation. These Bramins are well aware that the stranger will soon be in possession of a good place, and in the course of a year or two (they will wait longer if necessary) will be able to repay them liberally. They urge him to expense, knowing that the deeper he is in /30/ their debt the more tractable they shall find him. It is true, they risk the chance of his dying ; but should he live they will be amply remunerated. In the course of a ewelve-month the young man will be sent into the country, be invested with some office, such as assistant collector, and be intrusted with the receipt of a district. This is what the sircar was waiting for ; he will follow his master in the exercise of his office, will procure without difficulty the management of the collection, and there is then no sort of extortion which he will scruple. Whatever place the young man may obtain, the sircar will contrive to be his agent, and to raise an immense fortune by the exactions that are in his power. But to conceal these disgraceful practices, which, if detected, might subject them to lose their cast, the Bramins pretend, that they are simply repaid, out of the salary of their master, the sums they have advanced ; and this salary he resigns to them, reserving merely a sufficiency for his household expenses. This /31/ game continues till the sircar is satisfied with the fortune he has amassed, when he takes leave of his master ; or till the latter sees into the treachery of his conduct, is disgusted with it, and turns him away. The master then resorts himself to the same means, and thus completes his own fortune in two or three years ; so that the people experience a change only of oppressors, without being relieved from the oppression. It should be observed, that the sircars of whom we are speaking form but a small part of the Bramins, and that the same character must not be supposed to extend to the learned, whose virtues are equal to their talents, and who would blush, even in their retirement, at the idea, not of a fair and honest course of trade ; but of any practices in the smallest degree resembling those we have described. Yet, notwithstanding the corruption and knavery of these sircars, they are not the less unchangeably convinced of their own superiority to all other men, whom they /32/ accordingly look upon with sovereign contempt.

Of the different descriptions of persons who acquire fortunes in the service of the company, the most numerous are the military; but they arrive at opulence much more slowly, and in a degree greatly inferior to the civil officers. The habit of living in the country, the customs to which they must submit, the manners they acquire, and other circumstances, render it necessary for them to settle themselves.

Marriages.—Such as are called by their duty to stations at a great distance in the interior part of the country, and have no opportunity of enriching themselves, ally themselves by marriage to indian women of the moorish cast. As the children from these alliance have often no fortune, that of their father consisting merely of his commission, which is but a precarious inheritance, they are supported in that case by the english company, which has pro-/33/-vided for the purpose an establishment⁵¹ at Calcutta that is honourable to human nature, where the legitimate issue, both male and female, of any of its servants, receive a suitable education, and are taught all the useful accomplishments: the boys are afterwards provided with situations according to their abilities and genius, and the girls settled in life, and sometimes even sent to Europe at the expense of the company, to finish their education. The good order and decency of this institution have obtained it the praise of all who have attended to it. The military officers stationed at Calcutta, or in the neighbourhood, sometimes intermarry with these girls, whose fathers it frequently happens they have been acquainted with. Such marriages are by no means uncommon; all who have acquired any fortune, whether civil officers or others, finding the necessity of a female companion to banish from their minds the remembrance of thier country.

/34/ From a knowledge of this general predilection in favour of matrimony in India, the English, who are inclined to every sort of speculation, send thither annually whole cargoes of females, who are tolerably handsome, and are seldom six months in the country without getting husbands. These cargoes are impatiently expected by such as, not liking the orphans, are tired of celibacy, and the look-out for the arrival of the ships is as eager, as it is in other places for a freight of merchandise to make purchases of goods. What is more extraordinary, these marriages are in general happy. The women, removed from Europe from a situation of mediocrity, often of unhappi-

ness, to a distant country, where they pass suddenly into a state of opulence, feel as they ought the sentiments of gratitude due to the men, who share with them their fortunes. They become both good wives and good mothers, and are therefore generally preferred to the natives, who are continually wishing for the lux-/35/-uries in which they were brought up. These matrimonial ventures afford the means of keeping up the white race at Bengal, and prevent the portuguese cast from increasing so fast as on the coast. This cast is called here *topas*, from the word *topi*, which signifies in the portuguese language a hat. The name is given to such Indians as change their own for the european dress, and wear a hat instead of a turban.

Reflexions.—The children that are the offspring of the english alliances with the women of India, are of no particular religion, though most inclined to that of England. Indeed they consider themselves as english altogether, and consequently as greatly superior in blood to the portuguese race. They are employed by the government in situations in the interior part of the country, at a distance from the capital, where they marry women of colour, and their children again become black, with an english family-name. This is true policy on the /36/ part of the company, which, conscious that a population that is foreign to it must contain the seeds of its destruction, endeavours to people the country with a race of its own. The power of the company depends for its support on a force which is not english : the company is sensible of this, but it is an evil which cannot be avoided : the hand of time can alone gradually furnish the remedy, by destroying the aversion of Europeans to marriages with women of colour. These marriages should be encouraged, as a generation would thereby be produced, which, descending from english blood, would feel towards England a national attachment.

Meanwhile, till this revolution takes place, the company is obliged to trust its safety to mercenary auxiliaries, and to put into their hands weapons, which, on the first discontent, they may turn against the masters. Fortunately for the company, the soldiers thus employed are of /37/ the moorish cast : a cast that invaded and conquered the country shortly after the death of Mahomet, and has since entertained a perfect contempt for the natives who yielded to them, while these have retained on their part an inveterate hatred of their conquerors. The

government turns this disagreement skilfully to its advantage, and endeavours to heighten it, for the purpose of governing and keeping the two parties in order, by the aid of each other. The Bramins alone would form a class, which, by having the good opinion of both, might be troublesome; but these have long forsaken their theocratical establishment, and are solely intent on extending among their own members the sciences, which they have incessantly cultivated, and the virtues by which they are distinguished.

England thus rules the country without opposition: but were the Indians and Moors to unite in a single point only, that of aversion to foreigners, her power /38/ would soon be at an end. Reduced in that case to a dependence on her european forces, the contest she would have to sustain would be too unequal for any alternative to be expected, but that of defeat and submission. Such a catastrophe can never be brought about but by a hostile nation, possessing the necessary policy to plan the design, the patience and means to forward it in secrecy, and the power at the explosion to second and support it; and even that nation must entertain no hope of advantage to itself, since, being equally foreign, it would probably be included in the very proscription which it had contributed to foment.

If such a revolution, however, be practicable, the present government is at least doing every thing in its power to destroy the germ of it, by procuring a population of english origin, and thus diminish the possibility by augmenting its strength. Madras and Bombay command the whole of the peninsula, and death of Tippoo⁵² has lately relieved the English from the /39/ only adequate check upon their influence. The king of Trevancour⁵³ and the nizam of Golconda, in complete submission to their will, guarantee their authority from Cape Comorin to the frontier of the state of the Mahrattas, a nation that has always been their faithful ally, and assisted them with its arms. Fort William puts the whole province of Bengal at their disposal; and the nabob of the adjoining provinces, Mouxoudabad⁵⁴, Benares, and Lucknow, bow to the sceptre of the merchants of London. The troop of these princes are commanded by english officers, which insures their fidelity to the company; and the mogul emperor has even offered his arms for the chains with which he will soon be loaded. Already an english detachment is

stationed at Delhi. where it resides with its officer in the very palace of the emperor, and keeps guard over his person, pretending to do so for his safety, and to serve him as a guard of honour ; while in fact it is a guard of spies, placed there to watch all his actions, to give an /40/ account of them, and eventually it will not fail to reduce him to the same state of insignificance to which the other princes, his vassals, who have submitted to the ascendancy of european power, are subjected.

Government.—The english company has sovereign authority and holds in its hands the reins of government. It nominates to all offices, imposes taxes, receives tributes; declares war and makes peace in its own name, and keeps up a land and sea force distinct from that of the king. Its navy consists of a couple of frigates, and two or three sloops, which are stationed at Bombay. The company has besides two or three merchant ships, which regularly make voyages to Europe like those which it freights ; for the ships in general which the company employs in its trade do not belong to it, but are hired of private individuals. There is no privilege or exemption in this business, every one who has ships fit for the purpose being at liberty to /41/ offer them. Those which are taken up for a single voyage only are called extra-ships, to distinguish them from such as are constantly employed, and which are called regular bottoms. These vessels are commanded by captains who take an oath of fidelity to the company, and who wear a blue uniform, with black velvet facings, embroidered with gold. A command of this nature is very expensive ; to obtain it, as to a regular ship, three things are necessary ; the consent of the company, that of the owner of the ship, and the resignation of the individual who had the command. The first two require only a compliance with the established forms, but the last is an affair of purchase.

Administration.—A captain is not removeable ; to cashier him he must have committed some fault, and have been brought regularly to trial ; and even then the accustomed price must be paid him by his successor, which is generally about three thousand pounds. When a ship becomes old and unfit for service the captain obliges the owners to /42/ build him a new one immediatly, that he may be freighted in his turn. The same is done when a vessel is wrecked or taken by an enemy.

Freightage.—These ships are all built on nearly similar models, and should be pierced to carry at least six-and-twenty twelve-pounders on the gun-deck. Many are stronger, and in case of necessity can act offensively, and serve as frigates in the indian seas; but their guns are too low to be of the same use in wider oceans. When the governor-general wants them for any extraordinary service, he freights them for the time necessary; this is a distinct business, and is paid for separately from their common voyage..

These resources not being sufficient, they are augmented by some land and sea forces of the king of England. A part of the royal navy is always stationed in India, that of the company serving only for the narrow seas and against the pirates /43/ of the coasts of Malabar. Five or six regiments of the royal troops are in like manner kept in the different settlements: these add to the number of european forces in the pay of the company; for the king's troops in their service receive from them the same pay as their own. Besides this garrison, the king maintains a right of sovereignty over the territory of the company. The persons who reside there are amenable, as english subjects. to the tribunals of his majesty, and justice is administered in his name. All other acts of sovereignty are in the hands of the governor-general, assisted by his council; and it is from this supreme court that all orders relative to operations of government emanate. The orders from Europe, in every thing that belongs to commercial affairs, proceed from the court directors; but points touching the sovereign government are under the direction of a board of control. the president of which it is from this supreme court that all orders relative to operations his troops, and the local admi-/44/-nistration of justice, the king is the true sovereign of India. The united company of merchants trading thither have only the title to flatter their vanity; the essence of authority resides in his majesty, who allows them to dispose of their funds as they think proper, under certain restrictions however; for the opulence of this company affecting the public credit of the nation, it is necessary that its financial concerns should be subject to examination.

The government of Bengal either farms out its taxes, or puts them into some other train of management, as it thinks proper. They are collected in its name, and it appoints the judges for the interior parts of the country; a measure which is ex-

tremely obnoxious to the natives, who are thereby compelled to have recourse to foreigners for justice. In this department the greatest difficulty is to decide with equity between a European and an Indian, when the laws of the two nations differ. /45/ Each party professes himself ignorant of the laws of the other, and the judge is sure to give offence to one of them, who complains accordingly, and excites a clamour against him.

Quadrupeds.—In publishing my Voyage in the Indian Ocean and to Bengal, I have been desirous of exhibiting a picture of the true state of the Europeans in that part of the world, rather than of writing a course of botany, ornithology, or minerology. My intention was to furnish materials for historians, not for naturalists; I shall therefore give no nomenclature either of animals, birds, or the production of the country; on those subjects there are already writers enough. I shall merely observe with regard to animals, that there are two sorts of oxen in India, the large and the small. The former resemble those in Europe; but there is another sort lower in stature, and which bear the same proportion to oxen in general, as the small hungarian horses do to the /46/ large english ones. Among this small kind there are some in particular that are accounted sacred, and are called bramin-oxen⁵⁵. I know not whether they are indebted for their form to the particular care that is taken of them, to a more delicate food, or to the easy life which they lead; but they have by no means the heavy sluggish air that characterises other animals of their species. On the contrary, they are light, slender, active, and have something graceful both in their shape and motions. They are a sort of *apis*, and are suffered to go at large among the people in the streets and marketplaces, and to take freely whatever they like. Any person in the bazar, from whom one of these oxen shall take a cabbage or other vegetable, will consider it as an instance of extraordinary good fortune, and all his family will rejoice with him at the event.

The sheep are in every respect like those in France, and do not at all resemble the african breed, which is a species /47/ that I have no where else met with in any part of the world.

Elephants are common all over this province, and are trained to every sort of employment, even to hunting the tiger. It is customary to fasten on the back of this huge animal a

pavilion⁵⁶, large enough to hold two or six persons, who ascend to it by a ladder, which is afterwards suspended to the crupper.

Tiger-hunting.—When a tiger is to be hunted, the persons who engage in the amusement get into this pavilion, and have several well-trained dogs that beat the country before them. The elephant follows the dogs till he gets scent of the tiger, which he does generally at a great distance, for his senses are extremely acute. Immediately he raises his trunk into the air like the mast of a ship, and seems anxious to keep it from being laid hold of by his enemy. On this signal the hunters prepare to fire, if it should be necessary.

/48/ The dogs in the mean time press upon the tiger, who no sooner perceives the elephant than he stands immovable, his mouth open and claws extended, roaring dreadfully, and watching every motion of the elephant with the greatest attention. The latter approaches within the length of his trunk, which he still keeps erect and out of danger: the two animals for a moment look at each other, and this is the time when the hunters usually fire. The shot makes the tiger start, on which the elephant seizes him, and dexterously lifting him up with his trunk, and letting him fall again, crushes him to death by treading upon him, and forces his entrails through the wounds. Whenever a tiger makes his appearance near any place that is inhabited, he is hunted in this manner; and the amusement is attended with so little danger, that the ladies are often of the party.

There are many species of monkeys at Bengal, but no orang-outang.

/49/ Among the birds of this province are the vulture and the eagle. This last is the small or speckled eagle, but the vulture is the large sort. There is also a great variety of paroquets, and one species in particular that is difficult to be kept; a circumstance to be lamented from the extraordinary beauty of its plumage. Its head is superb, being shaded with rose colour, gold, and azure; the beak too is of rose colour, and the rest of the body green*. There is also a charming little bird called bengali, with grey and red plumage mixed with white spots; and a large grey sparrow that can dive into the water

* The name given to this bird by Edwrds is the *rose-headed ring paroquet*.

and fetch its prey from the bottom, if the depth be not more than a foot : this is the more extraordinary, as nature does not appear to have destined this bird to swim, for it is not web-footed, and its feathers readily imbibe water.

Productions.—/50/ The productions of Bengal, taken generally, may be classed under two heads, those of the soil and those of industry.

In the number of the former is saltpetre, with which the land of this country is strongly impregnated. This does not require repeated washing to yield any quantity ; a single operation is sufficient to obtain as much as the Indians want. Their laziness could not endure the frequent repetitions of that process which are necessary in Europe. Cotton is another production of the soil, from which those fine muslins are made which are brought to Europe.

Wheat is very sparingly cultivated here, but the country abounds in rice, which constitutes the principal nourishment of the people : the ground is uncommonly fruitful ; there is no such thing known as a bad crop. As the country is low and flat, it is intersected and watered by a mul-/51/-titude of canals, which are supplied by the Ganges, and contribute greatly to the fertility of the soil. This river overflows in the higher countries, and leaves, like the Nile, a sediment behind it ; which the heat of the sun modifies and renders very productive. Bengal is the granary of rice to all India.

Vegetables of every sort thrive well, but fruit in general is good for nothing. With much pains some european fruit-trees are made to grow, but the fig is the only fruit that prospers, and even that is scarce. As to the fruits of the torrid zone, the latitude of the climate is too high, and the heat too moderate, to bring them to any perfection ; the anana⁵⁷ in particular is very bad.

The English have introduced into this province a new species of agriculture, in the cultivation of the sugar⁵⁸ cane. When I left Bengal in 1794, this undertaking had just begun to be tried, and it already /52/ afforded a fair prospect of success. Messrs. Lambert and Ross were the first who engaged in the speculation. I visited their plantation, and had the pleasure of seeing that their fields looked well, were in good order, and the canes promising, though smaller than those of the Antilles ; this disadvantage however is compensated by the quantity of

juice they yield, which is owing to the peculiar quality of the soil in which they are planted. The only thing that dissatisfied me was, that a misplaced oeconomy seemed to have presided in the establishment of the manufactories. The buildings were good, the coppers extensive, and the mill well executed, but it was worked by oxen, which have neither the strength nor the perseverance of the mules in the West Indies. These oxen are a degenerate kind of buffalo, and it is not without great trouble they can be rendered in any degree useful : the business of driving and whipping them is the hardest employment in the whole manufactory. This mode of work-⁵³/-ing a mill appears to me a very ineligible contrivance ; a watermill certainly would be much more simple and preferable, and the Ganges is rapid enough to afford a fall of water that would set any wheel in motion.

At the period of which I speak, the natives were too little acquainted with a business of this kind to be capable of conducting it, and workmen were accordingly brought from China for the purpose : it is to be hoped however, that the Indians will learn in time to do without these men, and will no longer have recourse to foreigners, who are not to be obtained but at an expence that enhances the price of the sugar, which will prove of little ultimate advantage, unless it can be brought in price to bear some proportion in Europe to that of the West Indies.

In some provinces indigo is cultivated with considerable success ; but though the plants are fine, all the indigo I saw was⁵⁴/ of a very indifferent quality. This is owing perhaps to the manner of preparation ; however, be the cause what it may, certainly that of the Isle of France is greatly superior. I saw at Calcutta the common blue indigo only, but none of the copper, or the flower, or the inflammable sort.

Among the productions of industry, ought principally to be mentioned the different kinds of muslins, some plain, others striped, and others again worked with gold, silver, and cotton ; of which the finest are made at Dacca, a town in the northern part of the province, where there are many manufactories ; to these must be added the doreas and terrindams, the different sorts of linen under the names of cossaes, nainsooks, gurrachs, ballasores, the chintzes of Patna, the carpets of Barampour, handkerchiefs and pieces of silk and of cotton⁵⁹.

The English have established manufactories for printed linens in the neighbour-/55/-hood of Calcutta, that in no long time will totally ruin those manufactured by the natives of Patna, which are greatly inferior, and are besides less easily disposed of, on account of the distance of Patna from the capital. At Sirampoor, a danish colony, of which I shall speak hereafter, there was an excellent manufactory of this kind, belonging to Mr. Hamilton.

The Ganges, dispensing fertility in its progress, navigable throughout, and thus affording the means of commercial intercourse, has obtained the adoration of the inhabitants of its banks, from the innumerable benefits it continually bestows upon them, and has been worshipped as a divinity since the period when, according to tradition, madam Dourga⁶⁰ plunged into it and disappeared. They relate, that this woman was their legislator, that in her old age she descended to the bottom of the Ganges, and that she still lives there. Accordingly the greatest happiness-/56/-ness of life is that of bathing in this river and drinking its waters, which have the value of purifying both body and soul.

Amidst the absurdities of this story, the wisdom of the legislator may be clearly perceived, who intended by the invention to enforce upon the natives the practice of frequent bathing, so necessary in a climate like this, to prevent cutaneous disorders and the various evils resulting from uncleanness. It is in the same spirit that they are enjoined by a precept to abstain from animal food, and to live wholly upon vegetable diet ; a precaution equally useful for the prevention of those putrid disorders, which would otherwise be inevitable, from the noisome vapours that prevail in a country almost wholly under water during a part of the year.

The story of madam Dourga has given rise to a superstition, to which many a poor creature has fallen a victim. It is believed that every one who is drowned in /57/ Ganges is destined to enjoy with this fair personage eternal happiness, and that it is by her contrivance and interposition that accidents of this kind happen. When a man therefore is in danger of drowning, instead of endeavouring to extricate him, the bystanders wish him every kind of pleasure, recommended themselves to his favour, and even, if necessary, forward the catastrophe; or at

least are afraid of incurring the displeasure of their fair divinity by assisting him to get into a boat or reach the shore.

It is seldom, however, that they have occasion to carry so far their inhuman zeal towards any of their countrymen; for a native, who should fall into the water, persuading himself that he is going to the abode of eternal felicity, has no desire to escape from it by any exertions to save his life. It sometimes happens, that, in spite of themselves, the tide will drift them ashore; in this case they suppose the soul not deemed by madam Dourga /58/ sufficiently pure to be admitted into her presence. The Europeans, however, who are little ambitious of the honour of visiting this lady, when by accident they fall into the river, endeavour to save themselves; and it is well they do, for the natives, exerting all their speed, fly instantly from the spot; and if the unfortunate being is unable to swim, it is all over with him; he can expect no assistance unless one of his countrymen should chance to be at hand.

Bathing in the Ganges.—The Indians bathe at least once a day, as the precept commands them. I have passed whole days in looking at them; men, women, and children bathe together without the smallest indecency. They have their shoes on the bank, and sprinkle themselves as they go into the river: when they are up to the middle in water, they take off their apron (*pagne*) and wash it, perform the ablutions directed by their religion, put on their apron again, and come out. Often some Bramins come to /59/ bathe, bringing with them a small brass vessel of the shape of a censer, in which are some grains about the size of a pea: these they throw one at a time into the river, uttering, in a low tone of voice, a prayer or two. They then sprinkle themselves slightly on the back, touch their temples with the first joint of their thumb, wash their apron, and retire. It is to be remarked, that the ceremony of washing the apron is observed by every individual; a proof that the precept was given for the purpose of cleanliness.

As to the ceremonies of the Bramins, such as throwing the grain into the river, the practice of enchantment to prevent the tigers from destroying the natives, the worship of madam Dourga, and other absurdities, these are points which we must not too hastily condemn. They are seemingly necessary to maintain among the people the prevailing superstition, while

the more learned of the Bramins are supe-/60/-rior to such mummery, and arrive, both in morals and mathematics, to the highest attainments. Besides, where is the religion that does not include some form, purposely contrived to impose on the multitude? Even we, who are happily instructed in the purest of all*, have we not our holy water, which is consecrated by breathing upon it and throwing in salt? Yet would it not be unjust to form an opinion of the religion itself from this instance of its practice? This, however, is the side on which it is attacked by those who would destroy it; and perhaps the natives of Bengal, at some future time, might employ the same means to overturn theirs, by ridiculing its forms, without attending to its substance, were not instruction wholly confined to the cast of the Bramins, and the rest of the nation in such deplorable ignorance as to be inca-/61/-pable of reflecting upon the reasonableness or absurdity of what they are directed to believe.

Worship of the Ganges.—It frequently happens, that the aged, when at the point of death, cause themselves to be brought to the edge of the river at the time of low water, and, being covered over with the mud by their friends, are left in this state to be overwhelmed by the tide when it returns, to the great edification of the people, who are persuaded, that they are about to be received into the mansions of the blessed.

Besides the ceremony of bathing, the Indians pay a regular worship to the Ganges. They make offerings to it of oil, cocoa, and flowers, which they expose on its banks, to be washed away by the stream. When they have a friend at sea, and would offer vows for his return, they light in the evening some small lamps, filled with oil of cocoa, and placing them in /62/ earthen dishes, which they adorn with garlands, they commit them in the same manner to the stream: the river is sometimes covered with these lights. If the dish sinks speedily, it is a bad omen for the object of their vows; but they abandon themselves to the most pleasing hopes, if they can observe their lamp shining at a distance, and if it goes so far as to be at length out of sight without any accident happening to extinguish it, it is a sure token, that their friend will return in safety.

* The author being a Frenchman, was consequently a catholic.

Madam Dourga.—This madam Dourga, who has deified the Ganges, is held in great veneration : festival⁶¹ is celebrated every year in the month of October, and while it lasts nothing is known but rejoicing ; the natives visit each other, and on three successive evenings assemble together for the adoration of their divinity. Her statue is placed in a small niche of clay, which is gilt and adorned with flowers, pieces of tinsel, /63/ and other similar ornaments. The statue itself is dressed in the most magnificent attire they can procure, is about a foot high, and the niche with its appendages about three feet and half. All the rich celebrate a festival of this kind in their own houses, and are ambitious of displaying the greatest luxury, lighting up their apartments in the most splendid manner. Such as cannot afford to observe this solemnity at their own house, go to that of some neighbour : there is one of these celebrations at least in every quarter of the town, so that all the inhabitants have an opportunity of paying their devotions.

The room is furnished with seats for the guests, and the statue is placed on a small stage concealed by a curtain, as in our public theatres. The curtain being drawn up by the servants, a concert begins, in which the principal instrument is a sort of bag-pipe. The reed of this not being flexible, and the performer being /64/ wholly ignorant how to modulate its tone, nothing can be less musical than the sound it produces, unless it be the tunes that are played upon it : the most vile and discordant clarionet is melody itself compared with this instrument, which would literally split the ears of any other audience. In the midst of this concert the pantomime is introduced, in which the personages of the scene, uncouthly dressed, and insupportably disgusting, from the rancid odour of the oil of cocoa, exhibit some ridiculous tricks, calculated to amuse the honest Indians, who laugh heartily and give themselves up to the most extravagant joy. For two days every kind of respect and adoration is paid to the idol ; but on the third appearances alter. They abuse it, call it a whore, show their posteriors to it, and load it with curses and execrations : this done, they take it upon their shoulders and carry it to the banks of the Ganges, followed by the horrid din of the bag-pipe, where, reiterating their curses, they throw it into the water, /65/ amidst the most frightful cries of howling, and leave it to its fate*.

* See Stavorinus, I 418 (footnote omitted).

It is not easy to discover the drift of this ceremony. The Bramin, who was my sircar, told me, that the festival of madam Dourga was instituted to perpetuate and honour her memory, retain the people in a devotion, which had for its object to give a character of sacredness to the Ganges, and thus enforce the precept, which enjoined the salutary practices of frequent ablution and bathing : but this lady not being the supreme deity, it was not amiss, he added, to conclude the ceremony with acts of insult, which would convince the people, that Brama alone was entitled to the unmixed and never-ceasing adoration of mankind. This explanation, though by no means satisfactory, was all the light I could obtain on so singular a practice. /66/ This is the only worship I ever knew that passed in its ceremonies from adoration to contempt and insult.

Jamsey.—The Moors celebrate also an annual festival, which they call *Jamsey*⁶². I did not obtain any accurate information as to the nature of this ceremony, but it appeared to me to be of the mournful kind. A sort of funeral exhibition is carried through the streets, accompanied with banners resembling standards. There was a great concourse of people, and every individual had a stick in his hand, with a small flag at the end of it. They walked in ranks on the different sides of the street with great regularity. In the middle of the procession were some who performed feats of strength, and showed their activity by the most hazardous leaps, bowling out all the time as loud as they were able. As neither the period of this festival, nor that of madam Dourga, is determined by astronomical returns, they vary, and sometimes happen together : in that case, the government is /67/ obliged to use the utmost vigilance and precaution to prevent the most serious accidents. Whenever the processions meet, neither of them will give way to the other, and the ancient enmity of the two casts revives in all its rancour : the parties attack each other like furies : the remembrance of the ancient victories of the Mahometans rouses a courage and inspires a confidence on one side, which on the part of the Indians are equally supplied by enthusiasm, and they both fight with the most inveterate malice. *Jamsey* and madam Dourga are broken to pieces in the confusion, while their followers murder one another on their remains, and the battle is only terminated by the destruction or rout of one of the parties. A spirit of revenge produces a repetition of these battles on the

following days, and it is impossible to foresee the length to which the massacres will extend, if the government does not possess an armed force sufficient to restrain the combatants.

Widows who burn themselves alive.—/68/ The inhuman custom of women burning themselves to death on the corpse of their husbands is not yet annihilated in India; but it is confined to the cast of the Bramins. When an individual of this cast dies, one of his wives is bound to exhibit this dreadful proof of her affection. This lamentable sacrifice is not imposed upon them by law, for they may refuse to make it; but in that case they lose their character, are held in dishonour, and are deprived of their cast, a misfortune so intolerable, that they prefer to it the alternative of being burnt alive. Nature however revolts in some of these widows, and it is probable, if left to themselves, that they would never consent to so cruel a sacrifice; but the old women and priests are incessantly importuning them, and representing, that after death the most exquisite happiness is their lot: as they are commonly young, it is no difficult matter to triumph over their weakness and irresolution; they accordingly submit to the /69/ custom, and the prejudice which ordains it keeps its ground.

The manner in which this sacrifice is performed is different in different places. As practised at Bengal it is horrible. The funeral pile of the husband is erected near a wall, with just space enough between for a single person to pass, that the widow may walk, as is the custom, three times round it. A hole is made in the wall at the height of the pile, in which a beam, upwards of twenty feet long is placed, with a rope fastened to the end of it, and hanging to the ground, for the purpose of making it osculate.

When the widow has performed her ambulations, and take off her jewels, which she distributes among her companions, she ascends the pile, and lies down, embracing the corpse of her husband. The beam is then put into motion, and falls upon her so heavily as to break her loins, or deprive her at least of the power /70/ of moving. The pile is now set on fire and the music striking up, contributes, with the shouts of the people, to drown the noise of her groans, and she is thus, in the full sense of the expression, burnt alive.

My servant, a very brave fellow, who had been discharged from the military service for the loss of a finger, and who dis-

liked the Bramins, informed me one day, that a woman was going to be burnt at a place which he pointed out to me, on the left side of the river, between Fulta and Mayapoor. Having enquired into the circumstances, I learned, that she was both young and handsome, that she had already twice put off the ceremony, but that the day being a third time fixed, nothing could longer defer it. I conceived, that a woman who had twice hesitated, would find at least no great pleasure in submitting, and conjecturing, that she might not be sorry to escape altogether, I formed the resolution of endeavouring to save her. I asked my man if he would assist me, /71/ which he readily agreed to, adding, that he had told it me with the hope of engaging me in the enterprise. He requested that one of his comrades might be of the party, who was a bold fellow and would be of great use to me ; I commended his zeal, and accepted the proffered services of his friend.

I took with me twenty good european sailors, whom I put on board my sloop, in the bow of which I mounted a swivel : I provided also a dozen musquets⁶³, eight pistols, and a score of sabres. Two officers accompanied me, who were resolved to aid me to the utmost of their power. I encouraged the sailors by promising them the sixth part of the value of whatever jewels the woman should have about her, intending to leave the remainder for herself, if she did not choose to stay with me. My servant and his compainon were without arms, as it was not my intention to employ them in fighting. I disposed my forces into three bodies, in the following manner. One of /72/ the officers and eight men were to guard the boat. The other officer and six men were to follow me at a short distance with pistols, but to reserve their fire till I gave orders. Six of the most resolute I selected to attend me in the business ; four of them armed with musquets, and two, who were to keep themselves close at my side, with pistols. The party who were left to guard the boat had musquets, and were to be in readiness to cover my retreat ; besides his fire arms, every man had a sabre, and no one was to fire without express leave. Such was the arrangement of my force, and I had no doubt from the valour of my people, that my intentions would be admirably seconded. They had all seen some service, and would bravely stand before a veteran and experienced enemy, much more before men like the natives of this country. It was planned by my servant

and his companion, that I should go up to the widow and touch her : this was a violation that would deprive of her cast, and she would then have no right to /73/ burn herself : at the same time they were to tell her in the moorish language, not to be frightened, but resign herself wholly to their direction, for that they came to rescue her. They were then to carry her off as expeditiously as possible, under the escort of the officer and party following me, while I and my six chosen sailors were to bear the brunt of the contest, that they might have time to reach the boat, to which I was to retreat when I supposed them safely arrived there.

I hoped, that men, unarmed and thus taken by surprise, seeing a body of Europeans with sabres and pistols, would not have the courage to attack us ; but, being prepared to receive them if they did, I resolved to run the risk.

My intention was to leave the woman afterwards to her own disposal, that is to say, to give her the choice of either going with me; or of settling at Calcutta upon the produce of her jewels, which I should /74/ of course have the precaution to bring away with her.

My whole plan was prepared and ready, and I set out to execute it. I arrived at the place, and alertly jumped ashore. The arrangements agreed upon were made with precision. I advanced, and was astonished at the stillness and silence that prevailed. I came to the spot. Alas ! the dreadful sacrifice had been completed the preceding evening. I had been misinformed of the day. The wall was still warm, and the ashes were smoking. I returned with an oppression of heart that I can hardly express, and as much affected as if I had been a witness to the barbarous execution. My regret for this woman was as great as the pleasure I should have felt in saving her, and the idea I had formed of her youth and beauty.

Conjectures Respecting Bengal.—It is to be wished, for progress of our knowledge in the history of the globe, that the books of the Bramins, since it /75/ appears that we know something of them, would instruct us as to the time when these people first made their appearance in Bengal ; a province which at that period must have been one vast marsh, and which without doubt they drained by digging the Ganges, and other great canals, that serve to draw off the water, which would otherwise cover the whole face of the country. Such

an epoch, if it could be ascertained, together with the little elevation of the soil in this province, would form a basis from which inferences might be drawn relative to the retreat of the ocean.

Till these lights shall be afforded us, we must suppose of the province of Bengal to be of no remote antiquity. It is a vast plain, without a single mountain of granite; the little hills which are met with are merely hardened clay; and, except towards the northern extremity, not a stone, even of a calcareous description, is to be found.

If we were assured by tradition, that the /76/ race of the Bramins are the true aborigines of the country, and that it has been inhabited from periods more remote than our chronology can trace, this fact would overthrow the system, not of the absolute retreat of the sea, but of its gradual and progressive retreat; for there are proofs so strong on the most elevated parts of the globe of such elevations having been formerly covered by the water, that it is impossible to resist their evidence. Accordingly Bengal, at some period or other, must have been in the same situation. This being admitted, the principles of hydrostatics will make it impossible to suppose this province to have been cleared of its waters prior to places of a more elevated position. If we consider its trifling height, when compared with the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Gates⁶⁴; and lastly the mountains of Thibet⁶⁵, which seem to rise proudly above it, we must suppose it to be a country in its infancy. The coast of Bengal is so low, that it cannot be seen at the distance of three leagues; a heavy sea would over-/77/-flow it; and when the tide is unusually high; at the sizygies, the banks of the Ganges are under water. If I may offer the result of my own observations, Bengal is of the same age as the plain of India, which extends from the coast as far as the Gates, or perhaps a little more modern. This land is all on nearly the same level, and must consequently have been left by the ocean at nearly the same period.

If mountains of granite be the primitive matter which constituted our planet when it first began to contract its solidity, we may say Pallas, wherever we meet with it: "this is one of the points most distant from the centre of the earth, for it is composed of a substance, which formerly expansive in its fluid state, was projected by a centrifugal power". This

substance therefore must be the most ancient of those which enter in its present state into the composition of the consolidated globe; since, at the period of the conflagration, it was the first that, con-/78/-densing itself, yielded to the expansive force; which threw it from the centre to the surface. When I find myself therefore on a portion of the globe that has none of these appearances, I must conclude myself to be on a land of modern formation. If we descend from the summit of these mountains of granite or primitive matter to the plain of Bengal, which is scarcely above the level of the ocean, is subject to inundations, and does not afford a single specimen of any of the original substances of the globe, even those of a calcareous nature, which are evidently produced in the bosom of the sea, we shall be obliged to admit, that this low plain is nothing but the sands which the sea has quitted, and must be a country of very late date, when considered in relation to the past existence of the globe.

Indeed no part of this country bears any genuine stamp of antiquity. I do not call such the monuments of human construction, which are swept away in the /79/ lapse of ages. I refer to characters imprinted upon those vast masses, raised by nature alone, and which the influence of time is insensibly changing. But where are we to look for vestiges like these in a plain, as yet scarcely solid, and that can in no part be dug without meeting the water, which lately covered, and has but just left its surface? The extraordinary fertility of this country evinces it to be of modern formation, and the retreat of the ocean is marked by irrefragable proofs. The Clive-islands have evidently been formed by the sea; the sand-banks called *Brasses*⁶⁶ experience a slow but regular conformation, and will hereafter be converted into islands, when the Clive-islands will be joined to the continent. The bank called *Seareef* is a new bank, which the sea is adding to the others. Even the Ganges diminishes in depth; a circumstance that is not produced by the elevation of its bottom, for the violence of the current effectually prevents it, but by the water retiring to a lower level. /80/ When the french company was first established in this country, ships of war of seventy-four guns came to Chandernagore, but afterwards they were obliged to stop at Mayapoor, and at present can reach no farther than Cadjery, a small village at the mouth of the river.

The conclusion I would draw from these arguments is, that the Bramins are not sprung from Bengal, but have an origin much more ancient than the existence of that country. An old oral tradition affirms them to have come from the north⁶⁷: this tradition is accompanied with no proof, and corroborated by no authority, but is a presumption, notwithstanding, that gives weight to my conjecture.

It has been supposed, that the Ezourvedam⁶⁸, of which we have a translation, was composed a short time prior to the conquests of Alexander. I dare affirm, that this book was never written at Bengal; and should be bold enough, but for the /81/ respect I bear to his memory to doubt the assertions of a celebrated author*, who has said, that it was in the neighbourhood of the Ganges that mankind first assembled in society. He scruples not to allege as a proof of it, the extraordinary fertility of the country, which he supposes might determine its first inhabitants to settle there. But if its fertility in the early ages of the world had been so great, it is certain that it would long since have been exhausted, and the whole country at present be as destitute as the mountains, which were in like manner fertile heretofore, and served for the subsistence of the first race of men whom the ocean confined to their summits, that are now barren and naked.

The situation of Calcutta is such, that those who are in possession of it are masters of the whole river, to the prejudice of the other nations of Europe, whose settle-/82/-ments are all higher up in its course. Accordingly, were France to augment her military works at Chandernagore, so as even to render that fortress impregnable, she would find herself notwithstanding, from the first moment of hostilities, completely cut off from communication with the sea by the guns of Fort William, the fire of which crosses the river and commands the passage. As Chanderangore would thus be deprived of every kind of succour, it must fall, if its garrison were only able to act within the walls.

Bernagore.—A little above Calcutta, on the same side of the river, is a small town called Bernagore⁶⁹, which belonged formerly to the Dutch, but was exchanged in the year 1790,

* Voltaire. *Essai sur les Moeurs, &c.*

and now forms part of the english territory. It is celebrated only in the annals of debauchery.

.../99/...After staying three months at Calcutta I sold my vessel for a hundred thousand livres, and was happy at being relieved from the uneasiness I had continually felt respecting it, and the injury it was daily sustaining.

* * *

SERAMPORE

.../82/ From this place (Baranagore) the european establishments upwards are on the left bank of /83/ the river. The first is Sirampour, or Fredericnagore, a handsome danish colony, situated on a healthy spot of ground, and which wants only a greater share of commerce and opulence to render it a very agreeable residence. The inhabitants are fond of pleasure, and the governor, lieutenant colonel Obie⁷⁰, with whom I was acquainted, attracted to the town, by the politeness of his behaviour, and the entertainments he gave, a great many strangers. One of his daughters, who was married to count Shafaleski, gave an air of gaiety to the place: her assemblies were crowded; all descriptions of foreigners were admitted to them; there was dancing, and no one sought amusement in vain.

This little town is merely a factory, subject to the council of Trinquebar⁷¹: it furnishes a few bales of goods to a couple of vessels belonging to the danish company, which come for them annually. It supplies also one or two private vessels, /84/ which the privilege of the company does not exclude from this market. The commerce of the place is consequently very confined. Sirampour is almost wholly inhabited by emigrants from the other establishments, who fly thither as to an asylum under their misfortunes. The settlement belongs to the king, who keeps there a company of cipahis⁷², as a sort of police. There is nothing worthy of attention in the town except the house of the governor. It is striking however by its elevation above the river, which renders it pleasant and healthy, and it has every where a clean and prepossessing appearance.

Opposite to this town, on the other bank of the river, the english company has a camp of ten thousand men, that furnishes Fort William with its garrison, which is relieved every month.

CHANDERNAGORE

Garati : Proceeding upwards, we find on the same bank the palace of Garati, a solitary remnant of ancient french grandeur, and /85/ which shows the scale on which the original plans of that people in Asia were projected. It is the finest building in India. The front towards the garden is in the taste which the Europeans have adopted in this part of the world, being ornamented with a peristyle of the ionic order, after the grecian manner. The inside of the palace is splendid, the hall spacious, and the ceiling and cornice are painted by the hand of a master. The front towards the court is entirely in the french taste, with no peristyle. It represents three buildings, each aborned with a pediment, in which are the cartouches for bas-reliefs, which have not been executed. The court is circular, and in a good taste, and the entrance is by an avenue, that opens majestically upon this beautiful edifice. Garati is the common residence of the french governor in Bengal. It has frequently fallen into the hands of the English, who have not always resigned it with a good grace, when the return of peace has brought back its right owner. /86/ It has always however, sooner or later, been restored on such occasions to the party who were in possession before the commencement of hostilities.

Chandernagore.—A little higher, on the same side, is the small town of Chandernagore, the citadel of which is now only a heap of ruins. The houses, some half demolished, and the best in the state of decay, the streets dull and overgrown with grass, the air of neglect which every where appears along the walls, the breaches in some that are mouldering away, are so many tokens of the decline of the french power in Bengal. Yet formerly, under the government of Dupleix, this town was flourishing and opulent. The French, powerful and beloved, had the credit of rescuing the English when besieged at Cadjery, where they had been obliged to shelter themselves on escaping from Calcutta. Scarcely however were they thus restored to liberty, then, a re-inforcement arriving from Europe, with intelligence at the same time /87/ of a declaration of war, they marched to Chandernagore, to attack the very men, who, two months before, had saved them from the fate of their companions, suffocated in the black hole at Calcutta, and to lay in ruins a citadel, of which the defenders, by a generous inter-

ference, had prevented their total expulsion from the country. The barbarian meanwhile, who put to death so many of their unfortunate countrymen, to whose memory a monument has been erected near the old fort at Calcutta, set them an example of true magnanimity, by letting the english fortress stand, after he had taken it, and even consenting to restore it. The French on the contrary had nothing restored to by the English but ruins, which their ill destiny has not permitted them to repair. From that period, Chandernagore has continually languished, and now offers to the eye a mere scene of desolation. The town has a convent of monks, and a regular church provided with a minister, but they are both very poor /88/ establishments. Previous to the french revolution⁷³, the vessels of that nation were used in considerable numbers to anchor at this place, which gave it a degree of animation ; but the appearance of the first sparks of that political conflagration drove the French from the town, and their sircars followed them : the only two houses of any considerable trade which they had there escaped, one to Calcutta, and the other to Sirampour. The agent of the french company, abandoning the whole of his stores, also took refuge among the English, leaving Chandernagore without commerce, without money, and without employment.

The inhabitants of this small colony were still numerous, consisting chiefly of the crews of vessels, most of whom were deserters. Such of the white inhabitants as were not disaffected consisted of a dozen families, who had places under the government, and about two hundred aged seamen. A few revolutionary individuals /89/ contriving to inflame the minds of these last, a man, whom fortune had elevated to the station of advocate to the king, distinguished himself on this occasion, and was particularly active. A small colony like this could have no revolution to effect, and had only to wait for directions from the mother-country and obey them. The alterations rendered necessary by the new order of things might have been made without disturbance or convulsion ; but it did not so happen. Revolutionary proceedings were carried so far, that the governor, M. de M⁷⁴, saw his authority despised, and was obliged to leave the place, and retire to Garati. The well-disposed inhabitants, who were leading families in the colony, followed him, thinking themselves in danger amidst two hundred mad-

men, led on by an individual equally artful and vehement, and whose least threat was that of throwing into the river whoever should render himself obnoxious to his party.

/90/ The governor, unfortunately, and the commanding-officer of the two companies of cipahis which composed the garrison, being on ill terms, did not on this occasion act in concert. The former, in consequence of this misunderstanding, not expecting to find the obedience necessary in a time of insurrection, and conceiving the armed force which should support his authority to be at variance with him, departed, in order to provide for his own safety.

The officer, however, seeing the governor, his chief, quit the place, forgot the disagreement that had prevailed between them, and, thinking himself bound to follow with the troops, retired also to Garati. The governor might easily have perceived, that by such a proceeding the officer had no idea of enmity; and, accordingly, had he marched instantly back, attended by the two companies, he might have entered the town in all his authority, and have re-/91/-stored and maintained order, till he should have received instructions from Europe; but instead of taking any vigorous steps of this nature, he contended himself with making preparations for his defence, in case of attack. For this purpose, he procured two pieces of cannon, which he planted in the avenue, and encamped his troops at the gate of the palace. Lord Cornwallis made him an offer of a sufficient force to reduce Chandernagore; but M de M...., in the true spirit of a frenchman, declined accepting it, wishing to owe no obligation of this sort to the natural enemies of his country. He feared the Greeks even when offering presents—*Danaos et dona ferentes*.

Two days after, the portuguese cast, forming a company among themselves, called *topas*, also repaired to the governor, who thus saw himself at the head of the loyal and most numerous part of the colony, in opposition to a handful of malcontents, who were besides in insurrection /92/ without a cause; for no official intelligence had yet been received, and the governor was actually waiting for instructions from France. In this situation he refused to take any measure against the rebels, and remained in a state of inaction in his palace.

The revolutionists meanwhile were not tranquil spectators of this conduct on the part of the governor. Their first atten-

tion was directed to what has been called the sinews of war, and with this view they seized upon those sircars who had not had the precaution to make their escape, and exacted from them heavy contributions. These sums they applied to the raising a body of three hundred cipahis, which they recruited from the country around. A merchant, whose affairs were desperate, thinking thereby to retrieve himself, accepted the command: he was sure at least of subsistence for a time, and in reality this was all he obtained. A young officer of a trading vessel was lieutenant /93/ under him. By plundering the company's magazines, they obtained clothing for this corps, and a quantity of Madeira wine, of which they drank a part, and sold the rest to furnish their treasury. They purchased some indifferent pieces of cannon, that had belonged to a merchant ship, and put themselves into a posture of defence. Finding that no one molested them, they suspected some snare, to guard against which they threw up some small entrenchments on the bank of the river, behind which they posted themselves, with the king's magazine in their rear, fortifying the whole with their paltry artillery. They called this their camp, and at night all their party were bound to repair to it. In the morning their leader harangued them, and they were dismissed till the afternoon, when they returned to their exercise. By the inactivity of the governor the storm was suffered to thicken, and the strength of the insurgents gradually increased, till, accustomed to insurrection, they at length /94/ grew so familiar with it, that instead of considering themselves as criminal, the governor alone appeared so in their eyes. Meanwhile, five hundred men united in an enterprise of sedition, were not a body to be despised, and M. de M. . was wholly unpardonable in allowing them to remain in this state of security.

Affairs were in this posture, when intelligence arrived, that the people of Paris had gone to Versailles for the king, and brought him to the capital, where they had determined he should reside. Upon this, the ci-devant advocate, and a surgeon, who had joined his party, exclaimed, that the inhabitants of the other part of the globe had set them an example, which it became them to follow, and that Paris and Chandernagore should have but one rule of conduct. They resolved therefore to march to Garati, and bring back the governor. This advice inflaming their minds, and some arrack they had drunk having

mounted into their heads, it /95/ was necessary to set out immediately, to quiet the clamours of the multitude. It was in the power of M. de M..., either to resist them with success, or to secure himself by flight: he however did neither, but suffered himself to be taken, without firing a shot, and to be brought as a prisoner into the town, where he ought to command. On his arrival, he was shut up in a dungeon, with all the officers of the garrison. With respect to the private individuals who had accompanied him in his retreat, they escaped to Sirampour, where they contemplated at a distance the first scenes of a tragedy, which happily terminated with a catastrophe less sanguinary than there was reason to apprehend.

As soon as lord Cornwallis was informed of these proceedings, he invested Chandernagore, and demanded that the governor should be given up. The insurgents had at least the quality of courage: they accordingly appeared at the barrier of their little camp with the matches lighted; and /96/ the president of their committee declared to the English officer, that on the first shot fired against them they would put their prisoners to death and would never surrender while they had a man left to defend their entrenchments. The officer, who had not expected an answer of this kind, retired, and other means were resorted to for the deliverance of the captives.

The trial of the governor and his companions now commenced. The whole of this process was a striking example of mental dereliction and passion. It was necessary at length to pass sentence, which was the point most embarrassing of all. They would willingly have condemned the supposed culprits to death; but the French had not the power to carry a sentence like this into execution in Bengal without the approbation of the neighbouring nabob, whom they did not wish to offend. Influenced by this consideration, they determined to send them in /97/ chains to the Isle of France, whence it was hoped they would speedily be conveyed to Europe, with a character that would conduct them at once from the vessel to the scaffold. This was during the reign of Robespierre.

The pilot-brig, which they had in their possession, was equipped for this expedition, and the prisoners were put on board⁷⁵. This was precisely the moment lord Cornwallis waited for: he accordingly sent three armed brigs to chase the

french brig, and bring it into Calcutta. The vessels at anchor in Port Dimond had also orders to intercept it in its passage.

In consequence of these measures, the governor and his companions in captivity obtained their release, and were brought in honour to the English settlements, where they remained for a considerable time. The inhabitants of Chandernagore continued in the same state of confusion; /98/ some commissioners⁷⁶ sent from Pondicherry for the purpose of re-establishing order and tranquillity being unable to effect it, lord Cornwallis left them to the consequences of their internal dissensions, till war was declared between the two nations, when he took possession of the place and dispersed them.

CHINSURA

.../98/ About a league above Chandernagore is the little town of Chinsura, the chief of the dutch settlements in Bengal. This place has been long condemned to inactivity, and offers nothing worthy of observation. Its exports do not exceed, at most, two cargoes a year, which are sent in boats to Fulta, where the ships stop. Here, as in all the dutch establishments, some malay families have settled, and given birth to a description of women called *mosses*, who are in high estimation for their beauty and talents. The race is now almost extinct, or is scattered through different parts of the country; for Chinsura, in its decline, had no longer sufficient attraction /99/ to retain them, and at present a few only, and those with great difficulty, are here and there to be found.

BANDEL

.../99/ On the same side of the river, at some distance above this colony (Chinsura) is Bandel, a small portuguese town, in a still worse condition than Chinsura, and which would scarcely have preserved even its name, but for the excellence of the cheese that is made there, and which held in such request through the country, that it keeps up the remembrance of the town from which it is derived.

NOTES

1. Cadjery=Kedgerree, modern Khijiri.
2. Mud Point—Northern extremity of Sagar Island.
3. Sondry—Sunderbans.
4. Coulpy—Kulpi.
5. Clive Islands—Grandpre is probably referring to Cox's Island and the Isle of Rogues which have merged with Sagar Island. No other writer has referred to them as Clive Islands. Lord Cornwallis granted the freehold estate of Fort Gloster to Lambert & Ross (*Alexander's East India & Colonial Magazine*, VI [1832], P. 473). They started their sugar works there for a description of which see Grandpre II: 52-53. Sagar Island Society was not formed until 1819 (L.S.S. O'Malley's *Bengal District Gazetteers—24 Parganas*, Calcutta, 1914, P. 258).
6. The harbour at Diamond Point was initiated by Benjamin Laccam. However, the harbour was developed in 1789 at a total cost of more than three and a half lakhs of Current Rupees, laying mooring chains, bridle chains, shackles, mooring swivels, iron hoops for buoys, anchors etc. by the East India Company itself. (*Fort William-India House Correspondence*, Vol. X—1786-1788—, edited by Raghubir Singh, Delhi 1972, Introduction; pp. 43-44.)
7. Hooghly Sand or Dean Sand. (Henry Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, III, P. 209).
8. Old Ganges=Rupnarayan river.
9. Falta was the site of an old Dutch factory (W.W. Hunter, *Statistical Account of Bengal*, London, 1875, Vol. I; P. 102; O'Malley, *op. cit.* P. 34).
10. Fulta House or Hotel was famous in olden times. (*Hedges' Diary*, III, P. 211, note 3).
11. Pion=Peon, a foot soldier.
12. Mayapur, a short distance below Achipur (Hunter, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-102, 228).
13. & 14. Bar=Bore, a tidal flood. Tidal bores inundating Chetla, Kalighat, Alipore and other areas of Calcutta are not infrequent. On wednesday, 16. 9. 1973 there was an unprece-

dented tidal bore (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 17. 9. 1973 and 21. 9. 1973).

15. *Parias*—Grandpre either means the *Paraos*, *Parejas* or *Pargoos*. *Parao* is a slow-moving Philippine craft used for transportation of goods and passengers. *Pareja* is a generic Spanish term for sailing or screw trawlers working singly or in pairs. (Rene de Kerchoue's *International Maritime Dictionary*, New York, 4th edition, 1948). The *Pargoos* which were seen for the most part between Hugli, Pipili, and Balasore were used for lading and unloading ships. "They will live a long time in the sea, being brought to anchor by the sterne, as their usual way is" (Radhakumud Mookerji, *A History of Indian Shipping*, Bombay, 1912, P. 235 and P. 236 for an illustration).

16. *Renconter* : *rencontre* (French)—a chance meeting : a casual combat : a collision.

17. Master Attendant's Office, Calcutta.

18. T=(Captain Cudbert) Thornhill, Master Attendant of Calcutta, is evidently meant. He was appointed to this office in 1785.

19. This is the best description of Fort William, the construction of which was completed about 1782. It was begun in the autumn of 1757. The original estimated cost was 1,911, 569 Current Rupees (Para 56 of the Court of Directors' letter to Bengal' Council dated March 23, 1759—*Fort William—India House Correspondence*, Vol. II—1757-59, pp. 142-43, edited by H.N. Sinha, New Delhi, 1957).

20. Grandpre should have stuck to Hoogly, vide pp. 236-37.

21. *Read Ravelins*.

22. The seven gates are named Calcutta, Plassey, Chowringhee, Treasury, Hospital, St. George's and Water.

23. Col. Charles Morgan became Major-General in December 1793 and was Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal Army from January to March 1797. He died in 1819.

24. Perhaps this is the picture (along with Queen Marie Leczinska) that is hung up in the south-eastern stair-case of the Government-House in Calcutta. (Cotton, *Calcutta Old & New*, Calcutta, 1907, pp. 673 & 678).

25. Buckingham House stood on the same ground now forming the Government House compound. Daniells' picture of the Old Government House in 1788 is available.
26. Writers' Buildings—The Company leased the house of Richard Barwell in 1780 to provide accommodation for their writers. The house contained 19 apartments, each furnished with a separate set of out-offices, and the rent was Arcot Rupees 200 per month for each apartment.
27. The English after the sack of Calcutta took refuge at Falta and *not* at Khijiri.
28. Holwell's monument.
29. The theatre occupied the present site of James Finlay and Co., Ltd., just behind the Writers' Buildings, at the north-west corner of the Lyon's Range.
30. St. John's Church and Kiernander's Old Mission Church.
31. As the Portuguese church dedicated to *The Virgin Mary of Rosary* (now Catholic Cathedral) was consecrated only on 27th November 1799, the reference is to the Chapel that stood in its place.
32. The Greek Church built in 1780 and dedicated to Christ's Transfiguration on Mount Tabor stood at 7 Amratollah Street. Services were held there from 6th August (date of consecration) 1781 till February 1923. The property was sold and the foundation stone of the present Orthodox Greek church at Russa Road, Kalighat, was laid on 3rd November 1924 and the first service was held on November 19, 1925.
33. The Armenian Holy Church of Saint Nazareth, 2 Armenian Street, was erected in 1707, and adorned with a 3-dialled clock in 1792.
34. I fail to locate the synagogue referred to by Grandpre as the plot for Naveh Shalon, believed to be the first synagogue, was purchased only in 1823. (I.S. Abraham, *The Origin and History of the Calcutta Jews*, Calcutta, 1969, P. 27). Shalom Aaron Cohen was the first Jew to settle in Calcutta in 1797.
35. Edward Tiretta, an Italian by birth, was the Civil Architect of Calcutta for a long time. He was given permission to establish a public market in December 1782. The market started functioning by May 1783. (*Fort William-India House correspondence*, Vol. IX—1782-85—, edited by B.A. Saleatore, New Delhi, 1959, Letters to Court of Directors from Bengal

dated 7th December 1782 and October 23, 1783, pp. 327-28 & 432).

36. Negro, in the sense of a black native. 'Coffree' slaves, boys and girls, were not uncommon in Calcutta during Grandpre's days.

37. Mosquitoes.

38. Grandpre's description of the hooka and hooka burdar has been reproduced by Rev. Long in his 'Calcutta in the Olden Times—its People', *Calcutta Review*, September-December, 1860, P. 210.

39. Pony.

40. Moors—Mahomedans.

41. Yanam, on the mouths of the Godavari river (Andhra Pradesh) was a former French settlement.

42. Budgerow.

43. Gold Mohur.

44. Shroff—money-changer.

45. Dubashis.

46. Sanskrit.

47. Vedas.

48. Yajurveda.

49-50. Cormovedam=Karmavedam. As Rig, Yajur, Sama and Atharva are the four *Vedas*, it is not understood what Grandpre means by Cormovedam.

51. Military Orphan Society, established in 1783.

52. Tippoo Sultan died on 4th May, 1799, during the siege of Seringapatam.

53. Travancore, now part of Kerala.

54. Murshidabad.

55. Brahmany bulls are dedicated to temples.

56. Howdah.

57. Ananas—pineapple.

58. Cultivation of sugar cane was extensively practised in Bengal before 1757 and the annual exportation was about 50,000 maunds. A small quantity of sugar was exported to

England in 1791. (J.C. Sinha, *Economic Annals of Bengal*, London, 1927, pp. 36 & 258).

59. Doreas—striped or chequered cloth of mixed silk and cotton.

Terrendums—fine muslin woven chiefly in Dacca district.

Cossaes—plain muslin, usually of superior or fine quality.

Nainsooks—plain muslin of fine quality.

Gurrahs—plain, coarse cotton cloth.

Ballasores—Cotton cloth manufactured in and around Ballasore, Orissa.

Chintz—printed or painted calico.

Berhampour—Berhampore in Murshidabad district, West Bengal.

60. For the story of Bhagiratha's bringing the Ganges from the Himalayas, see O'Malley's *24 Parganas District Gazetteer*, pp. 254-57.

61. Durga Puja is evidently described here.

62. Muharrum is evidently meant from the description.

63. Musket.

64. Gates—Ghats (Western Ghats?).

65. Himalayas.

66. Braces—shoals at the mouth of the river Hooghly.

67. The Brahmins of Bengal were said to be brought from Kanauj by King Adisura.

68. Yajurveda was probably composed before 500 B.C.

69. Baranagore was exchanged for equivalent land contiguous to Chinsura, but the official transfer did not take place before 1824.

70. Col. Ole Bie was Governor of Serampore from 4-9-1772 to 28-12-1772, 26-9-1776 to 30-1-1785, 28-7-1788 to 7-4-1797 and 1-6-1799 to 18-5-1805. He died on May 18, 1805.

71. Tranquebar.

72. Sipahis—Armed police.

73. For the effects of French Revolution on Chandernagore see (1) S.P. Sen's *French in India*, 2nd edition, New Delhi,

1971; pp. 457 et seq. and Foreign Dept. letter dated 17th November 1790, paras 3-28 to the Court of Directors from Bengal in *Fort William-India House Correspondence*, Vol. XVII—1787-1791—edited by Syed Hasan Askari, pp. 328-31.

74. Montigny—Francois Emmanuel Dehaires de Montigne (1743-1819) was French Agent at Poona from 1779 to 1785 and thereafter Commandant at Chandernagore.

75. "The Committee finally decided, for fear of another English intervention, to send (Montigny) to France for trial by the National Assembly. On the 1st October, Montigny and some of his adherents were put on board a small boat, the *Chandernagor*, renamed the *Patriote*, to carry them to the mouth of the Hooghly, where a large vessel was waiting to transport them to Isle of France. On the 5th, while the boat was still in the Hooghly, an English officer, Major Appley, came on board and demanded surrender of Montigny, and his fellow prisoners. On the refusal of the captain, four English schooners attacked the French boat and compelled the surrender of the prisoners, who were then taken to Calcutta. Appley refused the boat to proceed further until satisfaction had been given by the Chandernagore Committee for the violation of the Treaty of Versailles in moving troops to Goreetty without the permission of the English. The Assembly of Citizens at Chandernagore sent a strong note of protest to Lord Cornwallis against his highhanded intervention in favour of Montigny and his partisans, to which no reply was given". (Sen, *op. cit.*, P. 463).

76. Mottett and Canaple.

THOMAS TWINING

Thomas Twining, the author of the *Travels in India a hundred years ago, with a visit to the States*, was the second son of Richard Twining of the Strand, a director of East India Company. Thomas was born on January 27, 1776 and was educated at Rugby. He entered the Bengal service of the East India Company as a Writer in 1792. He was employed in the Finance Department of the Company at Calcutta, became sub-accountant-general and commissioner of the Court of Requests. Afterwards he was deputy to Edward Fletcher, Chief of Santipore factory, and resident of Behar, where Twininggunge preserves his memory.

Thomas was in India for two short periods. During the first period (1792-1795) he was mostly in Calcutta. He was in upcountry during his second term (1798-1805). He was only 16 when he left England in April 1792 in the *Ponsborne*. He arrived at Madras on 1st August and left that city on 7th, reaching Diamond Harbour on the 17th of the same month. He went home in 1795 via America. "I had bought in the bazar of Calcutta teakwood bedstead, with drawers under it. . . the upper part, with the bedding upon it, was made to be lifted up from drawers, and to serve as a swinging cot in rough weather". During his stay in Calcutta he says: "I dine very often with Lord Cornwallis, and am invited to all his entertainments. At his levees, he never fails to address me in the kindest manner". He lamented the death of his friend, Col. Skelly, aid-de-camp to Lord Cornwallis in the summer of 1793. He witnessed a *sati* in the neighbourhood of Calcutta in 1793/94. During his journey upcountry, he collected "an Almanac made by the Hindoo astronomers of Benares, where I bought it. It was in a very elegant character. I intended to translate this curious and beautiful calender". His mastery of Persian "procured me the encomiums and attentions of the great Oriental scholar, Sir William Jones" no sooner than he landed at Calcutta.

Thomas Twining visited the Continent (Naples, Brussels, Paris, Milan and other cities) in the company of his two sons (Thomas, born Dec. 28, 1806; Henry, born, 1809) and his daughter Elizabeth (born, 1809). His first wife, Elizabeth Gifford, whom he married on 21st January 1806, died and he married for a second time. He became invalid in 1815, but could walk with crutches. He settled down at Twickenham, Perryn House, in 1837. He gave discourses on his "Indian experiences" at Weymouth Mechanics' Institute. He was one of the Justices of Peace at Twickenham and died on December 25, 1861. His "Travels", preserved by his son Thomas, was published long afterwards in 1893 (James R. Osgood Moilvaine & Co., 45 Albemarle Street, London), undergoing editing at the hands of the Rev William Henry Greaves Twining, vicar of St. Stephen's, Westminster. Originally they were printed in four letters in 1795-1806.

* * *

"CITY OF PALACES"

/72/ On Wednesday the 22nd August (1792) I left the *Ponsborne* with the Captain and some other passengers for Calcutta, about sixty miles higher up the river. This, as we advanced, became narrower, but still remained a wide and noble stream. The tide being with us and carrying us rapidly along, we proceeded smoothly in the middle of the stream with but little assistance from our oars till the tide turned in the afternoon, when we came to during the ebb, anchoring our budgerow, as our hand-/73/-some covered boat was called, a few yards from the bank, that she might not be left dry as the water fell. We set off again with the head of the flood, and the next morning passed through Garden Reach, a long reach running east and west a few miles below Calcutta. Handsome villas lined the left or southern bank, and on the opposite shore was the residence of the superintendent of the Company's botanical garden. It was a large *upper-roomed* house not many yards from the river, along the edge of which the garden itself extended. The situation of the elegant garden houses, as the villas on the left bank were called, surrounded by verdant grounds laid out in the English style, with the Ganges flowing

before them, covered with boats and shipping, struck me, as it does everybody who sees it for the first time, as singularly delightful. These charming residences announced our approach to the modern capital of the East, and bespoke the wealth and luxury of its inhabitants. Turning suddenly to the north, at the end of this reach, the "City of Palaces", with its lofty detached flat-roofed mansions and the masts of its innumerable shipping, appeared before us on the left bank of the Ganges; and on the same side, in the foreground of this beautiful perspective, were the extensive ramparts of Fort William. Passing this elegant fortress, we had on our right the even, verdant plain, properly the esplanade of the fort, which separates it from the city. A range of magnificent buildings, including the Governor's palace, the council-house, the supreme court-house, the Accountant-General's office, etc., extended eastward from the river, and then turning at a right angle to the south, formed, on two sides, the limit both of the city and plain. Nearly all these buildings were occupied by the civil and military officers of Government, either as their public offices or private residences. They were all white, their roofs invariably flat, surrounded by light colonnades, and their fronts relieved by lofty columns supporting deep verandahs. They were all separated from each other, each having its own small enclosure, in which, at a little /74/ distance from the house, were the kitchen, cellars, store-rooms, etc., and large folding gate and porter's lodge at the entrance.

No part of the city occupied by the *natives* was perceivable, it being higher up the river, as well as more inland, to the east, extending a great way in both directions. Our boat having cleared the esplanade and a part of the city, arrived opposite the old fort, the first military work of the Company in Bengal, and whose diminutive size and inferiority in every respect as compared with Fort William, which we had just passed, strikingly exhibited the subsequent rapid and vast extension of the Company's military power in these countries. It was now entirely dismantled, and its casements appropriated to the reception of the goods of the Company, and the merchandise of the custom-house, the direction of which was within its walls. Upon the custom-house wharf, extending from one end of the fort to the other, I saw immense piles of goods of various sorts, imports and exports. Along the shore in front of the wharf, and to the north as far as I could see, were a

great many ships, all manned with native sailors, but commanded principally by English captains, and chiefly belonging either to these captains or to British houses of trade established in Calcutta. These vessels, called "country ships", were employed in the Indian seas exclusively, principally between Bengal, China, and Bombay, never going, nor being allowed to go, beyond the Cape of Good Hope, unless by a specific license from the East India Company, who possessed, by their charter, a monopoly of the trade to Europe. I was told that most of these ships were constructed of teak, a wood more durable for marine purposes than oak, it possessing an oil that prevents the corrosion of the nails and iron bolts—a great advantage, which the oak has not.

I quitted the boat at a spacious sloping ghaut or landing-place, close to the north-west angle of the old fort. The lower part of the slope went some way into the water, and was crowded with natives, men and women, bathing with their clothes, or rather *cloths* on, and which they dexterously con-/75/-trived to change under water, without embarrassment to themselves or the bystanders. Having walked along under the northern wall of the fort, and passed the north-east angle, I came to a large area or square, the middle of which was occupied by an extensive tank surrounded by substantial brick masonry and an exterior palisade, and having a flight of wide steps at each end, east and west. Numbers of natives were descending these steps to fill their water jars and other vessels. Some, instead of jars, had pigskins slung at their backs, and which, when filled, had rather a ludicrous appearance, exhibiting the form of the animals from which they were taken. The skin being submerged in the water, was filled at a small aperture left unsewed at the end of the neck, and when full this opening was tied up with a piece of leather, which being loosened to the degree necessary, the water spirted out, in a greater or small stream, according to the pressure of the man's hand, into the jars of his customers, or the pots of the people who met him in the streets. All this was done, from the filling to the emptying, without unslinging the skin, the carrier merely bearing it forward over his side when discharging the water, much as an organplayer in the street does his organ. I saw several of these people branch off with their singular burthens into the numerous wide streets leading from the square.

Many young women also, with large circular earrings in their ears, and broad bracelets on their wrists, descended and mounted the steps, holding with one hand a jar or pitcher upon the head. Nothing could be more elegant and picturesque than the attitude and whole appearance of these delicate well-formed females, with their light white dress, consisting of one long piece of cloth, which, descending from the head, encircled the waist, and fell in graceful folds nearly to the ankle, not straight, but sloping, leaving one leg more exposed than the other. Strangely did the scene before me recall to my mind the beautiful picture of the *ancient* manners of the East, where the daughter of Bethuel is represented with *her* "large earrings" and "heavy /76/ bracelets" as *she* "went down to the well with her pitcher, and came up again".

At the angle by which I entered the tank square, as the great area was called, stood an obelisk in a neglected ruinous state. As it was only a few yards out of my way, I went up to it. From my very early years few things had filled my mind with more horror than the very name of the Black Hole of Calcutta, although the exact history of its tragic celebrity was unknown to me. With peculiar force was this impression revived, when, on deciphering an almost obliterated inscription, I found that the column which I beheld was the monument which had been erected to the memory of the victims of that horrible massacre. A native who accompanied me pointed to the part of the fort south of the principal gate in which the fatal dungeon itself was situated.

I now continued my way along the north side of the square, having on my right the palisades which surrounded the tank, and in my left a row of handsome houses, extending nearly the whole length of the square, called, "the Writers' Buildings". Passing next, down the eastern side of the square, I quitted it at the south-east angle, and after a few streets, very evenly paved with red brick, arrived at the house which the respectable old purser, who had left the ship on her reaching Diamond Harbour, had taken for the captain.

Here I sat down in an outer room, considering what I should do next. Although my father's unremitting zeal had procured me several letters to persons living in Calcutta, there was no one amongst them whom my family knew personally, or to whose house I could go at once. It was necessary therefore

that I should establish myself somewhere before I could begin to deliver my letters, and I knew not where to go in the first instance. In any other country the easy and obvious course would be to go to an inn. But I was told that there were no inns in Calcutta, or such alone as were not considered reputable. In this respect therefore it seemed that the City of /77/ Palaces was not a convenient city for a friendless stranger to arrive at.

Whilst occupied with these considerations the great gates of the enclosure opened, and a palanquin, such as I had not seen before, it being upright like a sedan chair, entered, escorted by several servants handsomely dressed with white, flowing tunics and turbans, and bearing large shining badges inscribed with Indian characters upon the long roll of linen which encircled their waist. The palanquin being put down at the edge of the verandah, a respectable-looking old gentleman, dressed in black, with a powdered long-tailed wig, and a large cocked hat in his hand, got out of it, and entered the house, where he was received with a degree of politeness and condescension very different from what I had been accustomed to see on board the ship, and from which it was evident that the Captain had already laid aside the imperious action of the quarterdeck and resumed his shore character, in which, however, some professional consequence was visible, but associated with an air of sincerity and frankness, of resolution and intelligence, that gave a just idea of his many excellent qualities.

Such a reception of the stranger confirming the opinion which his numerous retinue had given me of his importance, I was induced to inquire who he was, when I was told that he was the head of the Bengal marine establishment. After conversing some time with the Captain in the great hall, an order to have his palanquin ready, and the bustle of the servants, announced his departure, when, as he was returning through the room in which I was sitting, some circumstance, I knew not what, directed his attention to me; and coming up to me, he addressed me with singular kindness, asking me how long I had been on shore, what I thought of the appearance of India, what I meant to do, what friends I had in Calcutta? In reply to the last question I said that I had no friends in Calcutta, but that I had some letters of introduction, "and one, sir", I added, "is, I believe, for you". "A letter for me?" said the old gentleman, "and /78/ from whom pray, may it be?" I replied;

"From Mr. William Bensley of London". "A letter to me from Mr. Bensley ! Come, come, my young friend, you must come with me". He gave orders to his attendants for another palanquin, and this being ready, I at his desire got into it; and accompanied him, much surprised at the situation in which I so suddenly and unexpectedly found myself. We proceeded along at a quick pace, my palanquin by the side of his, his attendants around both.

We entered the great square, with the tank in the middle, and continued along its southern side,—that is, the side opposite to the one on which I had traversed it previously,—and in a few minutes more arrived at the enclosure of a large white flat-roofed mansion standing near the Ganges, a little below the point at which I had landed not two hours before. Upon getting out of my palanquin, which my nimble bearers had carried up the steps and put down at the bottom of the grand staircase, the old gentleman said that that was his house, and my future home. Ascending, then, the great staircase, he led me through some rooms of vast dimensions, and leaving me on a sofa in one of them a minute or two, returned with his lady and daughter and introduced me to them. After many most friendly expressions from them all they held a short consultation together, at the end of which the kind old gentleman conducted me to a magnificent apartment, which he placed entirely at my disposal, desiring me to command freely whatever I wanted. He said that his lady and daughter would procure such servants as I should require, and in a few hours I found myself surrounded by a group of ten men, who respectfully saluted me as their master and desired to receive my orders,—the headman of the party offering me a few pieces of coin upon a folded white cloth as a present ; nor could he be satisfied till I accepted it.

This memorable incident attending my first landing in Bengal was as important as unexpected. It was a great and /79/ auspicious event in the outset of my life ; it removed at once every difficulty of my situation ; it gave me a most comfortable home in a most respectable family ; introduced me to the best society in Calcutta ; and had a valuable future influence on my success by enabling me to avoid the expenses and embarrassments so frequently attendant upon the first arrival and settlement of a young man in India.

I must therefore ever feel that, of the many friends I have had the good fortune to meet with in my *journey* through life, one of the greatest certainly was Captain Cudbert Thornhill, the oldest European inhabitant of Calcutta; the same gentleman who, being at Judda in the Red Sea when Mr. Bruce the Abyssinian traveller arrived there, under much difficulty, rendered him very essential service,—as acknowledged by Mr. Bruce,—manifesting towards him that same active benevolence for which he was always distinguished.

With the sincerest gratitude and affection shall I ever revere the memory of this most kind and excellent man. I understood that before he knew of my having an introduction to him, my youthful and friendless appearance had disposed him to offer me his protection.

* *

A DAY WITH SIR WILLIAM JONES

I had a very favourable introduction to the celebrated oriental scholar, Sir William Jones*, one of the judges of the King's Court at Calcutta. It was given to me by his friend, Dr. Parr, who was also the intimate friend of my uncle Thomas of Colchester; and the Doctor had recommended me to accompany his letter with a handsomely bound copy of my uncle's late work, *A translation of the Poetics of Aristotle*. Sir William received me, and my introduction and present, most politely. Meeting me at a public entertainment a few evenings after, he again spoke to me very kindly, expressing the great pleasure which a cursory look into my uncle's book had afforded him, and his regret that he was not able for the present to read it more regularly, his time being entirely taken up with his public pursuits. It was on this account, he said, that he saw scarcely anybody, and that he never had company to dinner. After this observation I was agreeably surprised

* Twining's own note 3 (P. 80) says: "In the hot season of this year (1794) India deplored the loss of one of the most distinguished men that had ever visited her shores; and I lost, in that event, one of my kindest friends. Sir William Jones died at Calcutta of the liver complaint, after a short illness. . . Lady Jones had left India the year before.

at receiving, a few days subsequently, an invitation to dine with him. The party consisted of Sir William and Lady Jones, another gentleman, and myself. Sir William was very cheerful and agreeable. He made some observation on the mysterious word *Om* of the Hindoos, and other Indian subjects. While sitting after dinner he suddenly called out with a loud voice, "Othello ! Othello !" Waiting a minute or two, and Othello not coming, he repeated his summons, "Othello ! Othello !" His particularly fine voice, his white Indian dress surmounted by a small black wig, his cheerfulness and great celebrity, rendered this scene extremely interesting. I was surprised that no one Mussalman or Hindoo answered his summons. At last I saw a black *turtle* of very large size crawling slowly towards us from an adjoining room. It made its way to the side of Sir William's chair, where it remained, he giving it something it seemed to like. Sir William observed that he was fond of birds, but had little pleasure in seeing or hearing them unless they were at liberty ; and he no doubt would have liberated Othello if he had not considered that he was safer by the side of his table than he would be in the Ganges.

I passed a most pleasant day in the company of this distinguished and amiable man. He was so good as to express some approbation of my Persian studies, and repeated to me two lines of a Persian poet, and also his translation of them—

Kill not the ant that steals a little grain ;
It lives with pleasure, and it dies with pain.

(pp. 455-56)

LAST DAY IN CALCUTTA

.../522/ The last day of my being in Calcutta (1805)
I dined with the Marquis Wellesley* at the Government House.

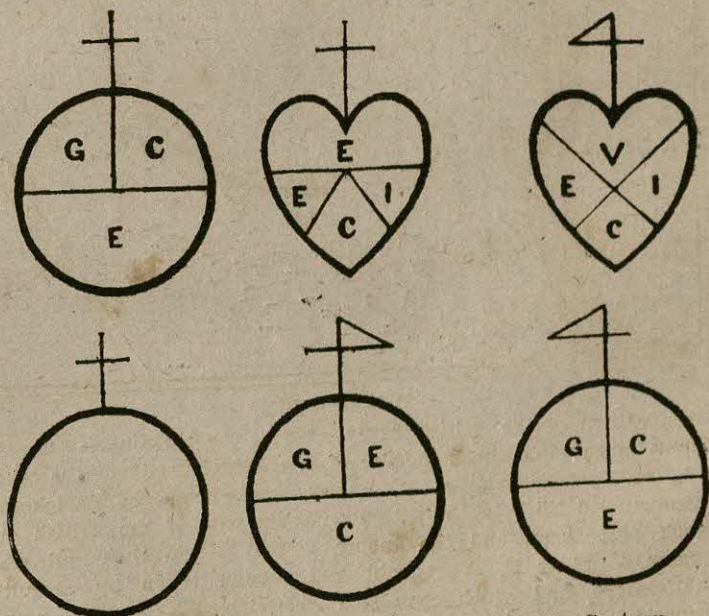
* P.S. Twickenham, 1845. This able and accomplished nobleman, the most vigorous, enlightened, and statesman like governor that India had seen, and who with less ambition, or an ambition more tempered with justice towards other states, would perhaps have been the greatest, did not retain his high station long after I came away, being replaced by Lord Cornwallis. I frequently saw him on his return to

The party consisted of about thirty. On the right of his lordship sat the Honourable General St. John, on his left, Mr. Pattle, formerly of the East India Direction, but which he had quitted to return to Bengal. I sat next Mr. Pattle.

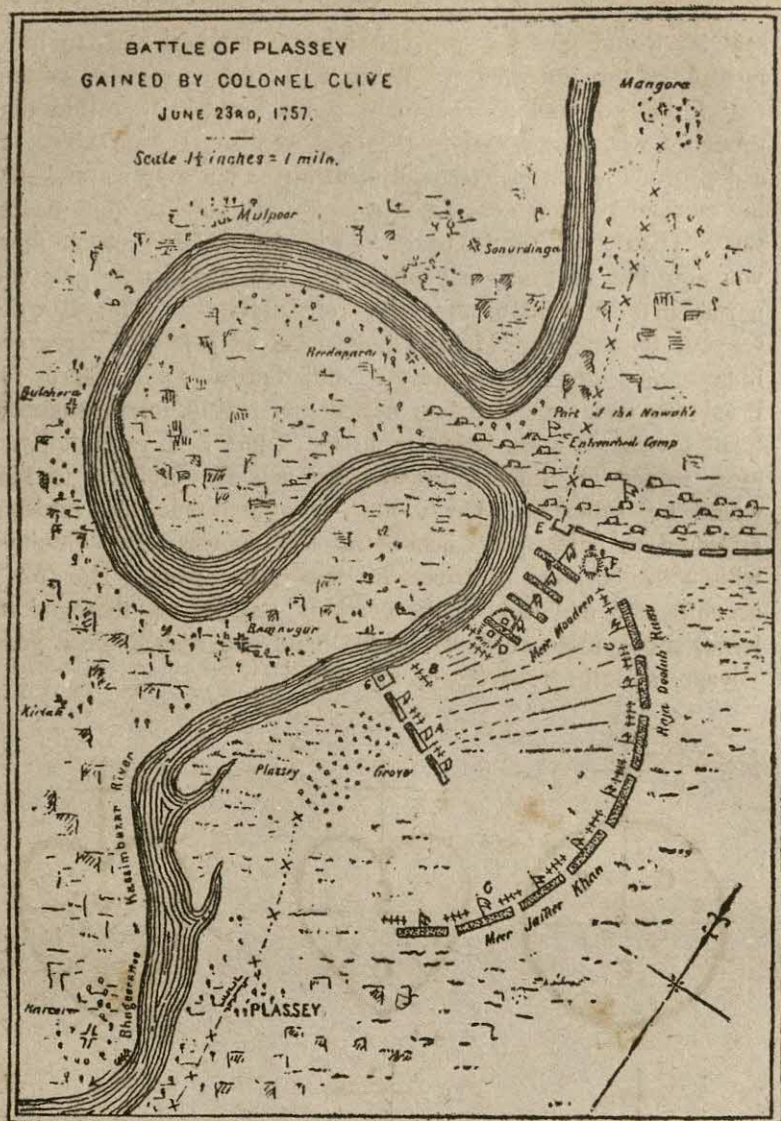
After a splendid entertainment, as usual all the company retired, excepting General St. John, who, being about to leave India in the fleet then under despatch, had an audience of His Excellency in a room adjoining the dining-room. I was disposed to avail myself of the last opportunity I should have of speaking to his lordship in private, and of returning my thanks for the kindness I had received from him on so many occasions. I accordingly waited at the entrance of the corridor through which he would pass to his private apartments, and when he approached, after leaving General St. John, I met him, and explained my object. He received me /523/ very kindly, and invited me to return with him to the room he had left. It was, like all the rooms of this eastern palace, brilliantly lighted with elegant chandeliers and wall-shades of cut glass. Having crossed this room to the opposite side, he asked me to sit down, and placed himself near me in his accustomed manner. Having said that I could not leave India without again expressing my acknowledgments for the numerous favours I had received from his lordship, he was pleased to speak of my public services in very handsome terms. He said that the Board of Revenue had paid me the greatest compliment a public servant could receive when speaking of my administration of the country submitted to my charge. I said that I had endeavoured to make myself master of the various affairs which his lordship had entrusted to me, and to gain the confidence and attachment of the native population of all ranks, as well as the approbation of Government, though it would often have been easier to obtain the latter by seeking it exclusively, but that I had never sought praise in that manner. I had diminished the public arrears 40 per cent, but by measures which increased the prosperity and satisfaction of the natives in an equal degree. His lordship then expressed his regret at my leaving India, and

England at Ramsgate, Apsley House, and at my lodgings in Conduit Street. On these occasions he always expressed himself in the same unreserved manner as in India.

said he would give me any appointment I might wish to have instead of the judgeship of Behar if I could remain, adding that I did not look ill. I thanked his lordship, but said that though I was pretty well in the cold weather, I was subject to a dangerous return of liver complaint in the hot months, and that my medical advisers considered a temporary absence quite necessary. "Then", said the Marquis, "I will give you any appointment you may like to have on your return; but I will now give you a public testimonial to the Court of Directors, or I will write to your father, from whom I have received a letter I have not hitherto had time to answer. I can hardly find leisure for breakfast, and am obliged to neglect my family correspondence. Shall I write to your father or to the Court". I replied that I most valued my father's satisfaction, and that a letter to him would be sufficient. Upon my observing that his lordship appeared to enjoy good health, he said he was much troubled with boils, but that otherwise his health was good. He /524/ accompanied me back to the corridor, and on my there taking leave, shook more cordially by the hand and wished me a good voyage, and the recovery of my health.

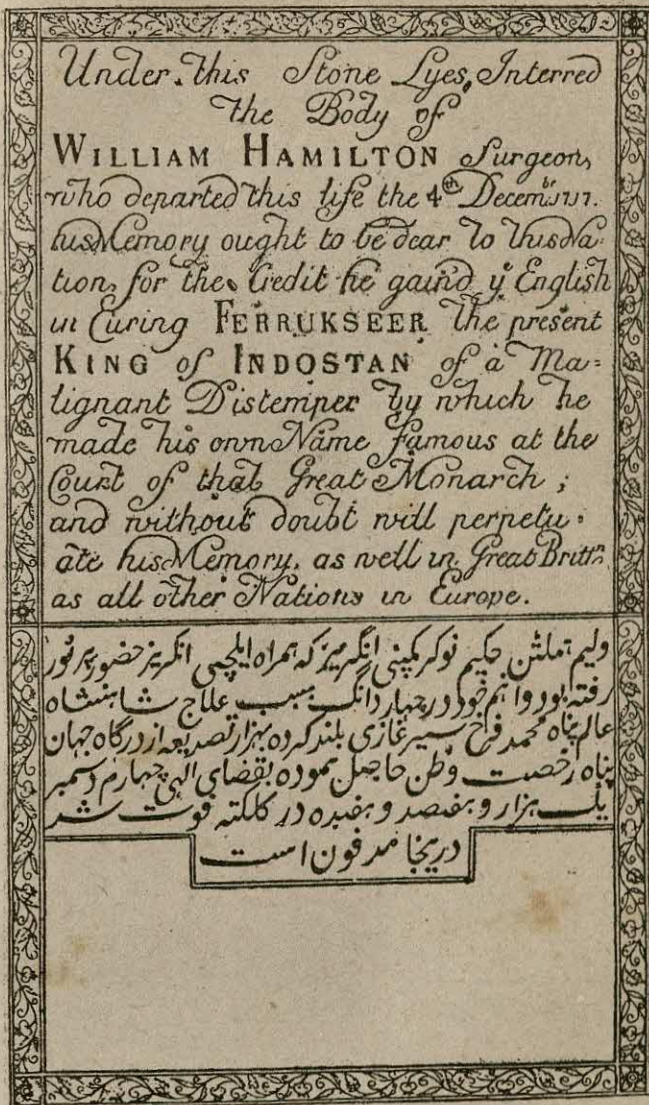


East India Company's *nishans* in the 18th Century

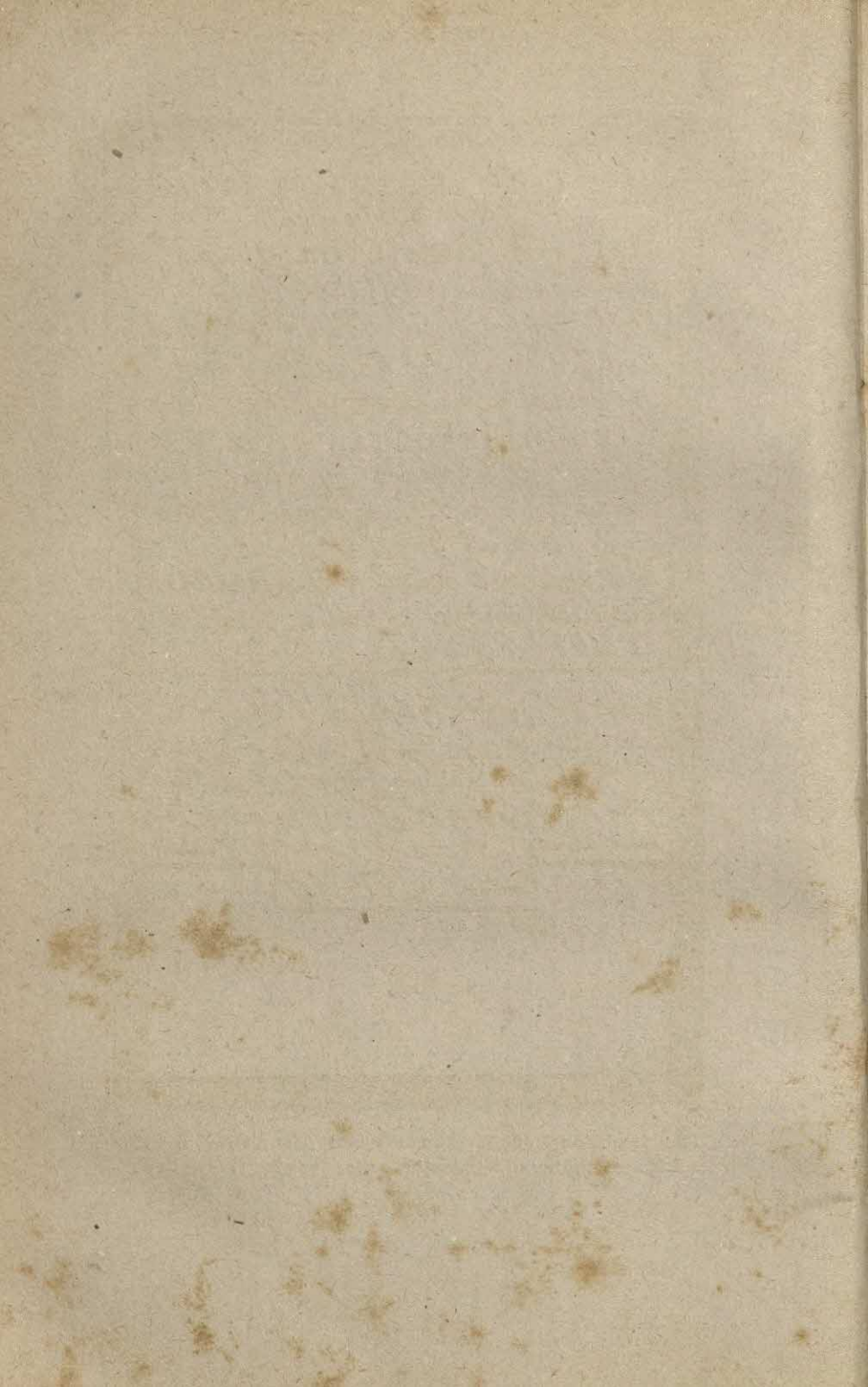


REFERENCE

A. Position of the British Army at 8 in the morning.— B. Four guns advanced to check the fire of the French party at the tank.— C. The Nawab's Army.— D. A tank from whence the French party cannonaded till 8 in the afternoon when part of the British army took post there, and the enemy retired within their entrenched camp.— E & F. A redoubt and mound taken by assault at half-past 4, and which completed the victory.— G. The nawab's hunting house.— The line marked X represents the incursions of the river up to at least 1849. (See pages 127, 130)



The tombstone of Surgeon William Hamilton in St. John's Churchyard, Calcutta. (See page 81)



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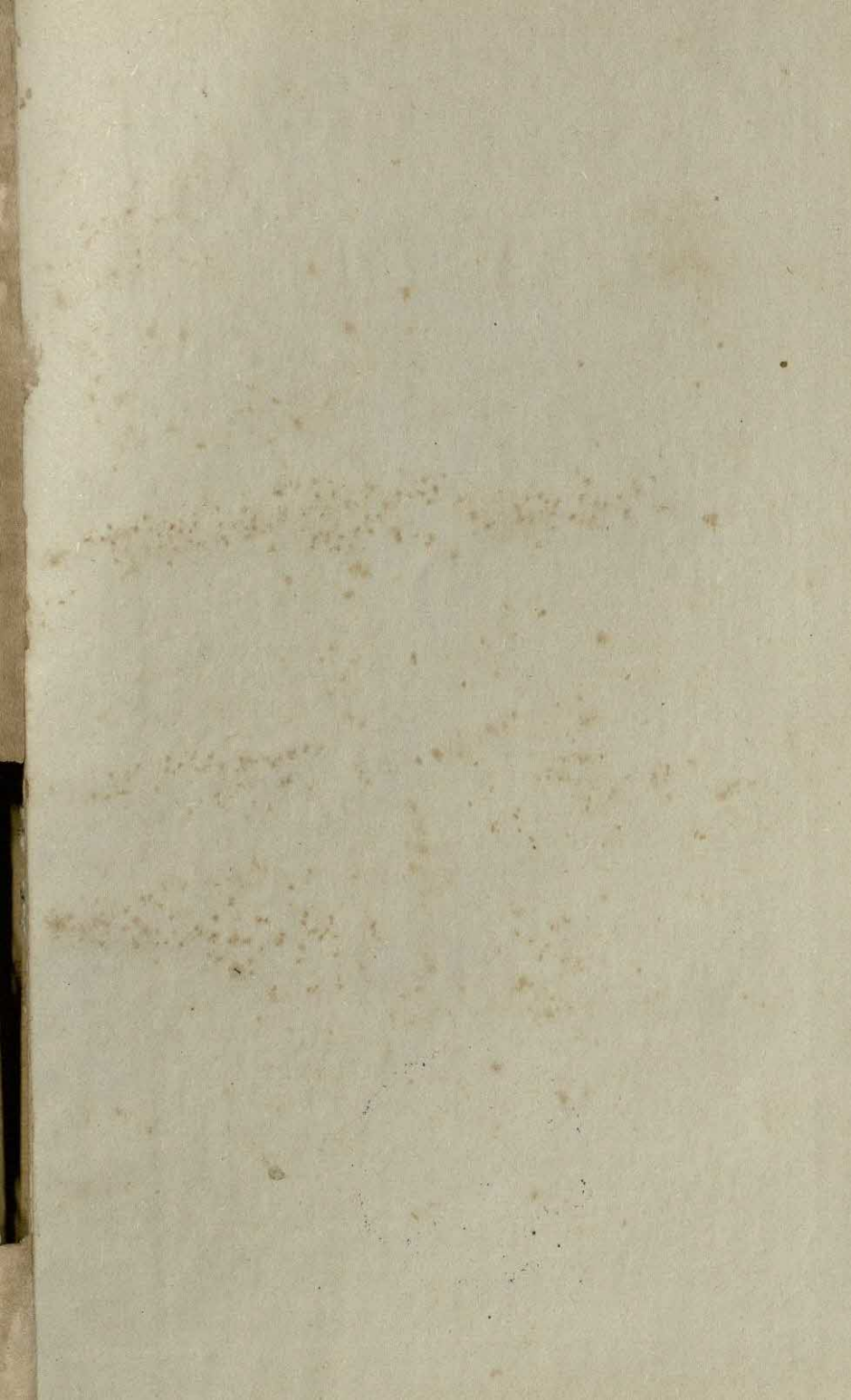
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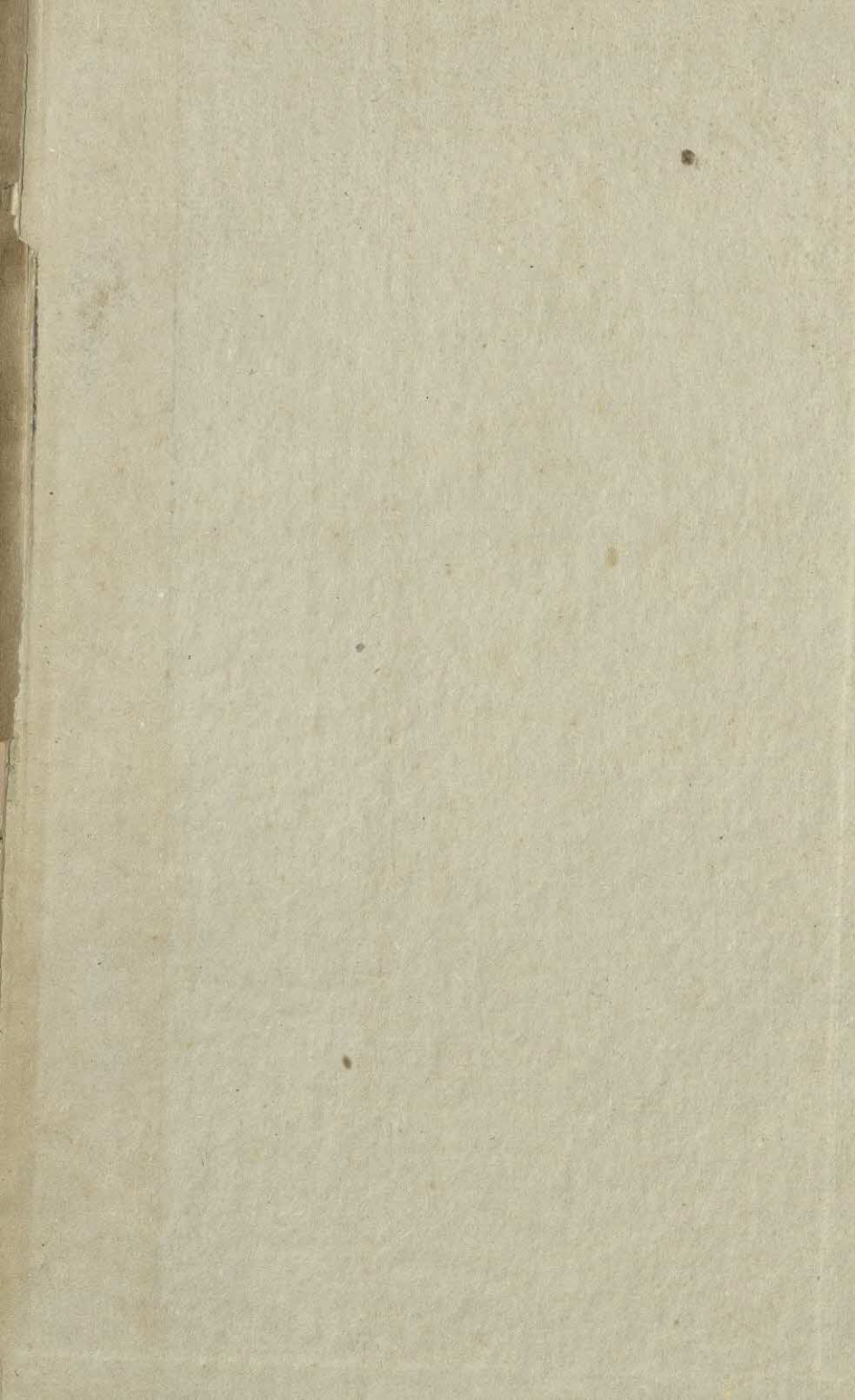
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